

#59/Spring-Summer 2004-5
Vol. 23, No. 1

Anarchy

A Journal of Desire Armed

Celebrating 25 Years of Critical Anarchist Analysis



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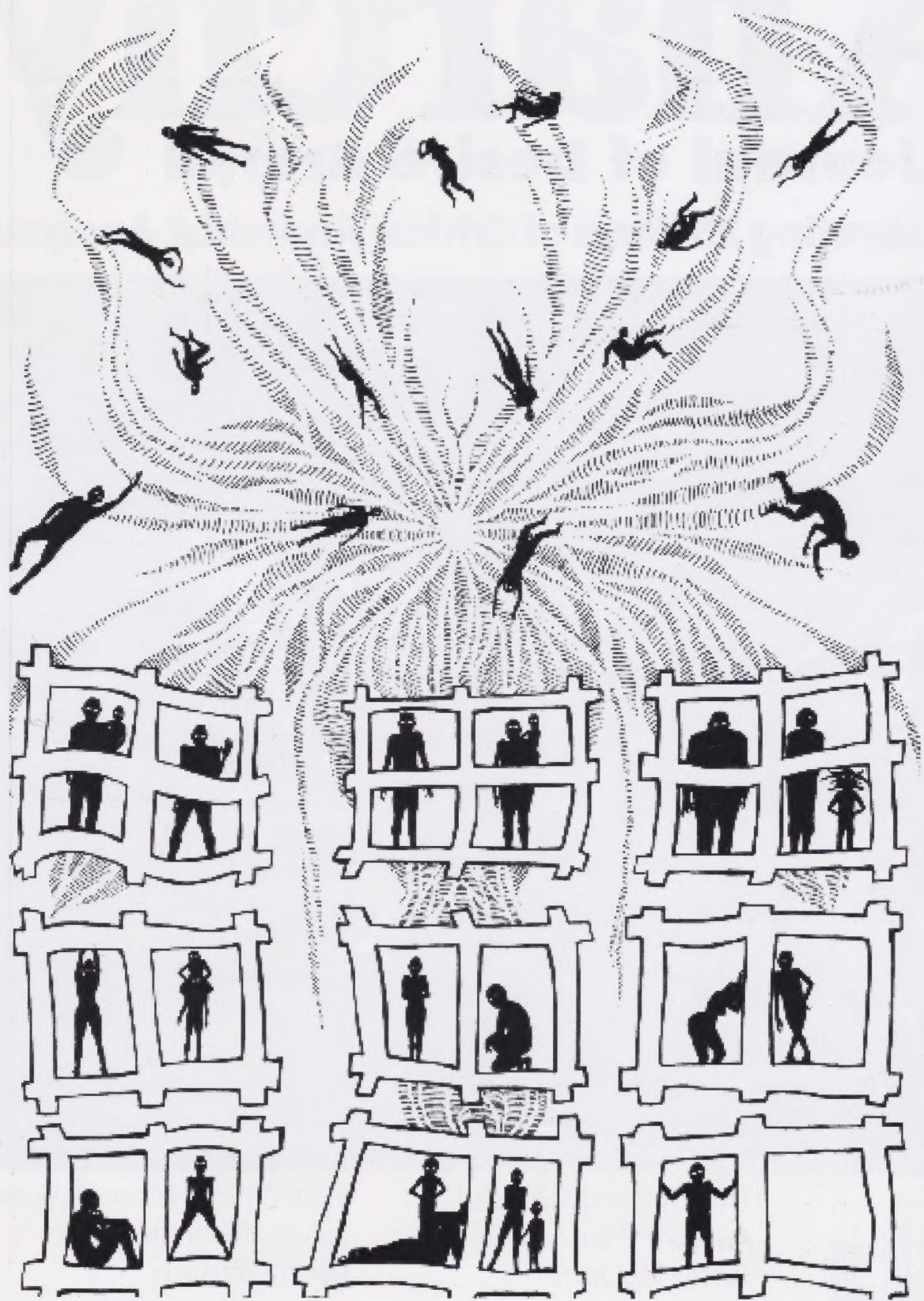


The Life and Times of
Anarchy Magazine
Jason McQuinn

Less Within, More Between:
anarchafeminism now
Leona Benten

Reviews include: Emma Goldman: a Documentary of the American Years; On the Justice of Roosting Chickens; Free the Animals; Raids on Human Consciousness; The Uncanny

Towards a Society based on Mutual Aid, Voluntary Cooperation & and the Liberation of Desire



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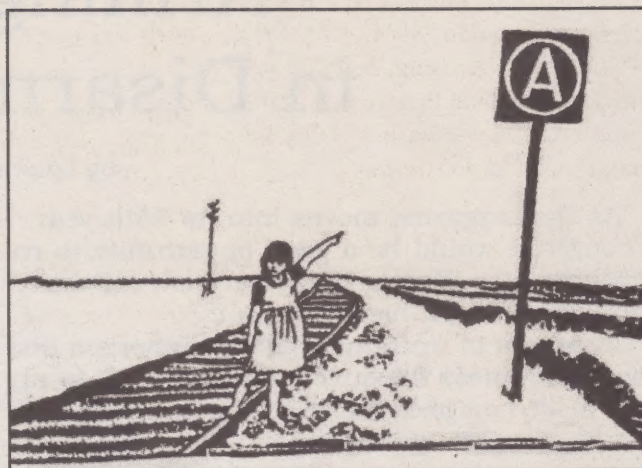
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We publish a journal of desire armed; uncompromisingly anti-authoritarian. *Anarchy* refuses all ideology. We criticize all religion, all moralism, all political ideology. We spit on nationalism, militarism, racism and hierarchy. We don't want to leave anything out.



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Arming Desire in Disarming Times

by Lawrence Jarach

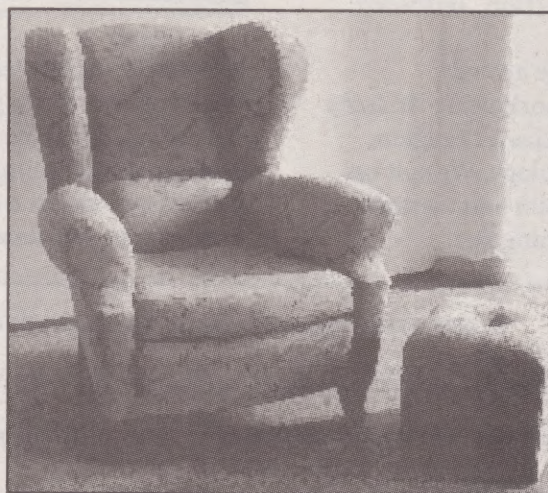
As the magazine moves into its 25th year, I thought it would be a good opportunity to revisit the title. What is the "Liberation of Desire," and what does it mean to arm it?

In an era of untrammelled consumerism and acquisitiveness the question of desire is, to say the least, complex; fueled by the inherent anxiety that exists within capitalism, enormous amounts of time and energy are expended in an unparalleled effort to get people all over the world to spend their money on commodities that are shoddy, unnecessary, harmful, and/or trivial. Economists will drone on endlessly about "supply and demand" as if these two poles of economic activity were discrete, as if the demand weren't manufactured at the same time, using the same techniques—and often enough

by the very same people—as the supply of gadgets. And that leaves aside the attractively packaged, but empty promise that consumption will alleviate the anxiety. Moralizing leftists who bemoan the supposed irrationality of capitalism remain blissfully (if not willfully) ignorant about the brilliant logic behind the various mechanisms that capitalists continually refine to keep the rest of us bewildered by the allure of fake choices, and enraged by the apparent inevitability of the system that creates those choices. Given such a pervasive and global system, what is authentic desire? When we try to remove individual desire from the collective onslaught of what the Situationists called "the Spectacular-Commodity Economy," what are we left with? The pursuit of pleasure and/or the avoidance of discomfort is not nearly descriptive enough to give us an inkling of what is authentic, radically subjective, desire. Flamboyant self-indulgence is clearly not what we mean when we discuss desire.

In order to begin liberating desire from the parameters and confines of economics, repetition, conformity, hierarchy, and bureaucracy (or capitalism and the state, for those who prefer slogans and other forms of distinctly uninspired and unimaginative terms) we need to look at what humans have in common outside

those realms. A yearning for sociability; the need for companionship, friendship, kinship, and love; our attraction to intelligent activities that facilitate what it means to be human... these are the foundations and processes of real desire. None of these things are, nor can they possibly be, facilitated by the greed and atomization required by capitalism, and the crushing fear and alienation required by statecraft. Each day



we are forced to acquiesce to, comply with, and—yes—reproduce, this system of domination, exploitation, and destruction is another day our desires are thwarted. In order to liberate our desires it is necessary to remove the obstacles that hinder what brings us happiness, to destroy that which destroys us. To arm our desires means to use any and all means, any and all resources, at our disposal to make that happen. Self-theory, self-organization, critical solidarity, voluntary cooperation, and mutual aid are but a few of the tools we can utilize to help propel us toward a better tomorrow.

Over the past 25 years the various contributors to *Anarchy* have aspired to foment the realization of this liberation, promoting a vision of radically egalitarian and non-hierarchical relations in all spheres of activity. We hope you have appreciated our efforts during that time, and we look forward to furthering intelligent dialog and lively debate for the next 25!

Inside *Anarchy*:

by Leona Benten & Lawrence Jarach

So the transition from Missouri to California has happened. Readers with a sharp eye have already noticed some graphic design changes implemented by the new group. Subsequent issues will contain further experiments in this area. We are excited about bringing more visual appeal to the project. For those of you who have missed the news, Jason McQuinn has handed the magazine to us. This "us" is a group in the San Francisco Bay Area, including Lawrence Jarach, who has been working with Jason on AJODA for the past several years. Members of the production/editorial crew have known and worked with each other for several years, and producing AJODA seemed like a wonderful project to do together. This allows us to broaden the voices involved, and gives Jason more time to devote to the projects he feels especially passionate about: putting out *Alternative Press Review* (newly revived after a two-year absence), and book publishing. We hope eventually to put *Anarchy* magazine out more frequently.

The Bay Area crew has been preparing for the past year and a half, and the past month, especially, has been full of us discussing the line(s) between maintaining AJODA as we know and love it, and re-imaging AJODA as a reflection of who we are: discussions (for example) about whether it is better to make the transition clear and abrupt, or to ease our way into the changes (as we come to understand better the process of creating a magazine from the foundations as well as how we will agree and disagree on what changes to make, and how we work together, both in the core group and with our friends and colleagues.

We have undoubtedly made mistakes in this issue, since we are learning as we go: mistakes that we should have caught as well as mistakes that will only show up on the printer's presses and paper, so if the graphics are muddy and illegible, bear with us. (And if you are a graphics person with lots of production experience, get in touch.) We will learn from our mistakes as quickly

as possible.

Some changes you might notice are in layout, as well as the new department Recent Events, which will take the place of The Sad Truth and International Anarchist News. One of our members is collecting material from local artists, and many different artistic styles will grace the pages of the magazine, including the front and back covers, since we want to take advantage of the glossy paper. We will be updating the *Anarchy* website so it's more in line with our efforts as well as more interactive.

This issue has several reviews, a survey (for tearing out or filling out on www.anarchymag.org/survey), Dave Negation's update from Portland, regarding community organizing and some of the issues involved, Leona Benten's wishful thinking about anarcha-feminism, and Jason's personal history of *Anarchy* magazine up to 1986. Part two will appear in #60. We have three columns in the critical *Anarchy* tradition: the next installment of Aragorn's "Anarchy & Strategy," Ben Blue's "Loose Canons," and the first installment of "Anarchy 101," a column for smart newcomers.

Some of the people we should really thank are (not in alphabetical order) Mike Thorn for his patience in fielding our newbie questions about layout; artnoose, for fundraising efforts and successes; Printing Jason, for help in work flow and prioritizing; and girl Fred, for a very generous loan; as well as all of the friends and family who made taking on this big responsibility less of a panic and more of an adventure.

Your help is very much needed to pay for this project; we ask you to get at least one friend to buy a subscription. None of us get paid to put this magazine out, and the publication must be able to sustain itself soon.

As always, this magazine is a collaboration between the production crew and the readers—we anticipate a long and fruitful partnership with you.

From CAL Press

Elements of Refusal

John Zerzan's first collection of essays in a new, expanded Second Edition! "Here it is axiomatic that art, language, time, industrialism, number, technology, work and other aspects of our social lives—all hailed as the liberators of humanity—are, in fact, the co-conspirators of domestication and domination." - from the Preface. \$14.95

Anarchy after Leftism

Bob Black's compact, intelligent & compelling demolition job on Murray Bookchin's atrocious *Social Anarchism vs. Lifestyle Anarchism* and MB's overall philosophical and radical pretensions. Highly recommended. \$7.95

Future Primitive & Other Essays

A collection of some of Zerzan's best critical essays from *Anarchy* and *Demolition Derby*, including "Future Primitive," "The Mass Psychology of Misery," "The Catastrophe of Postmodernism," and "Nihilist's Dictionary." \$6.95

Withered Anarchism

Collected essays on the increasingly withered anarchism of Murray Bookchin, featuring the title essay by Bob Black, Lawrence Jarach ("Don't Judge a Bookchin by his Cover-ups"), Jason McQuinn, Michael William and others. \$11.95

Revolution of Everyday Life

Vaneigem's still-explosive masterpiece on radical subjectivity in a world of things and their prices. This book was serialized in past issues of *Anarchy*, but it's well worth reading and re-reading. One of the two major works of the Situationist International. \$15.95

Against His-Story, Against Leviathan

Fredy Perlman's most important work presents the world history of civilizations from their origins of devouring primitive peoples and other civilizations on their way to the dead-end we know as the present day. A poetic, deeply subversive reversal of perspective on history. \$9.95

The Continuing Appeal of Nationalism

Perlman's penetrating critique, essential for understanding nationalism left and right. \$2.95

We, the Anarchists!

Stuart Christie's analysis of what went wrong with the FAI (Iberian Anarchist Federation) and CNT (National Confederation of Workers) during the Spanish Revolution and Civil War, leading to the counter-revolutionary collaboration of these organizations with the Catalan and Spanish governments. \$15.95

Running on Emptiness

Subtitled "The Pathology of Civilization," this collection of Zerzan's essays includes many recent contributions to *Anarchy* magazine, including "Time and Its Discontents" and "That Thing We Do," along with a revealing interview by Derrick Jensen and the autobiographical "So...How Did You Become an Anarchist?" \$11.95

Society of the Spectacle

Guy Debord's masterwork updating Marx's theory of commodity fetishism for an electronically mediated world. "Everything that was once lived has moved into its representation." One of the two central works of the Situationist International. \$7.95

Situationist International Anthology

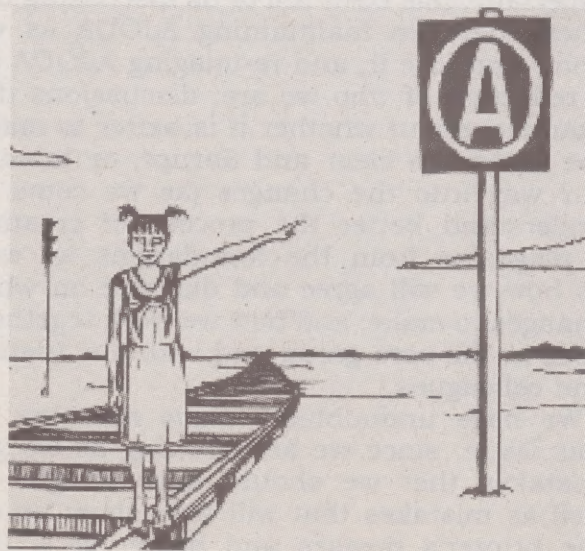
Ken Knabb's definitive collection of the most important articles from the S.I.'s French journal, including those by Asger Jorn, Ivan Chtcheglov, Guy Debord, Raoul Vaneigem, Attila Kótányi, René Viénet & others. Indispensable. \$14.95

Journey Through Utopia

Marie Louise Berneri's thorough and perceptive study of the most important utopian writings since Plato's *Republic*. \$9.95

Passionate and Dangerous: Conversations with Midwestern Anti-authoritarians & Anarchists

Maybe not all that "dangerous," but this survey will give you a good idea of who is active and what's going on around there. \$4.00 magazine format



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Caracas: the opening of a Libertarian Centre & Social Library

The Venezuelan Comision de Relaciones Anarquistas (CRA) calls for solidarity with a project which is the first of its kind in our country: the opening (sunday 14th November 2004) of a Libertarian Social Studies Centre (Centro de Estudios Sociales Libertarios - CESL), together with a social library.

What is the "Centro de Estudios Sociales Libertarios"?

The CESL is an independent, self-managed non-profit organization without ties of any kind to parties or organizations, whose primary objective is the study and spreading of values such as self-management, mutual aid, solidarity, social justice and cultural advancement in general. The CESL is inspired by the historic libertarian "ateneos", European squatters, Italian social centres and, in general, by the spirit of self-learning which comes from the knowledge of anti-authoritarians. Due to Venezuelan laws, the Centre operates as a "non-profit foundation".

What does the CESL actually plan to do?

- * Open a social library in Caracas (inaugurated on 14th November 2004)
- * Organize forums and debates
- * Carry out workshops on areas such as communication, graphic design, self-management, the plastic, visual and theatrical arts
- * Produce printed and web-based material
- * Distribute independent printed and audio-visual material

How can people participate in the CESL?

Anyone can participate in the CESL as a member or user. Members of the Centre will have special benefits. They can borrow materials from the library, receive the CESL bulletin, obtain discounts for workshops and the material the Centre produces. They also have the right to participate in the organization, in the general assemblies and in decision-making.

How can I join?

- There are two ways to become a member:
- * By paying annual dues, the amount of which will be decided by consensus by the general assembly
- * By actively cooperating in the Centres

activities and daily running.

How is the CESL financed?

- * Through the monthly or annual subscriptions of ordinary members (amount to be decided by General Assembly)
- * Through donations received from people or public or private institutions which must be approved by the Assembly
- * Through the production of self-managed activities designed to raise funds.

Does the CESL accept subsidies from the institution of political or economic power?

No. The working philosophy of the CESL is self-management, which implies that its promoters will generate the finances to support it as far as their abilities permit. Upon the approval by the Assembly, any person or institution can make precise donations, but these will in no way influence the philosophy, running or objectives of the Centre.

What is the social library?

In this first stage our priority is to open a social library which will function regularly. We believe that education and knowledge are fundamental for any collective project which aims towards people realizing their potential to the fullest degree. At present, the CESL has a collection of over 1,500 books and 2,500 specialized periodicals in the fields of the Social Sciences, Gender Studies, Anarchism, Alternative Culture, Philosophy, Globalization and Human Rights, that are waiting for a suitable physical space in order to be made available to the public at large.

What is the relationship between the Centre and the journal "El Libertario"?

The Centre and the journal "El Libertario" <www.nodo50.org/ellibertario> are two different things, each with their own profile. Many of the present promoters of the Centre also work with El Libertario, but being part of one by no means automatically implies affiliation to the other. The CESL seeks to carry out the task of cultural promotion that goes beyond the specific nature of an anarchist collective. ["El Libertario" is publishing for the CRA. For more info in english, see <www.nodo50.org/ellibertario/seccion-ingles.htm>]

How can I help the CESL financially?

- * By buying any of the material that we

produce (see the Self-management section of the Centre's website)

* By committing yourself to paying a monthly or annual quota

* By contributing material, equipment and/or payments for services required for the CESL's activities

* If in Venezuela you can make a contribution to Banesco account No. 6012 8894 6133 3337 in the name of Luis Silva, CI: 10868928

* If elsewhere, you can deposit or transfer money to the Banco Santander Central Hispano in the name of Antonio Serrano G., account number 0049 5275 0427 1180 1250 (Please warn us by e-mail when you do so). If the amount is too small to warrant a bank transfer, or if you prefer to donate in another way, please write to us at our e-mail address [centrosociallibertario\(a\)yahoo.com](mailto:centrosociallibertario(a)yahoo.com).

Although we have worked hard so that the CESL will be self-financing, it will not be possible for a few more months, and right now the expenses connected with the premises and the library are accumulating, and quickly exhausting the funds we had collected previously for these purposes.

This is why we are making an urgent appeal for financial solidarity. The contributions of any amount that are received over the next few days, weeks and months will be essential for the project to get off the ground and establish itself. A full financial statement will be regularly available on the Centre's website.

How do I contact the CESL?

Email: [centrosociallibertario\(a\)yahoo.com](mailto:centrosociallibertario(a)yahoo.com)

Website: www.centrosocial.contrapoder.org, ve (in spanish, with photos of the Centre's activities)

Postal address: Fundacion Centro de Estudios Sociales Libertarios, Apartado Postal N° 49110, Caracas, Venezuela

Where to find us: Calle La Blasina, esquina San Luis, casa n° 37, Sarria, parroquia La Candelaria, Caracas. [You can reach us from the Metro station Bellas Artes, take the microbus for Sarria and get off at the corner of San Pedro, 50m. east of the corner of San Luis and the Centre]

[Translation by nmcn/ainfos]

Obituary Manolo Gonzalez

Manolo Gonzalez was born in Spain in the late 1920s, escaped from Franco with his anarchist family in 1939, and eventually settled in the SF Bay Area, where he wrote, and taught at the University of San Francisco as well as briefly at New College of California.

Nothing like this should ever happen. We found out that long-time Contributing Editor Manolo Gonzalez had died when issue #58 came back to us marked "Return to Sender. Deceased."

I first met Manolo when we both lived in San Francisco. Jason gave me his phone number, I called him up, and we made a date to meet at his apartment. I spent the next five hours visiting as we got to know each other. My then-partner joined us after her workday ended, and Manolo served us tea and cookies. Hovering over us, among the stacks of books and papers from his long career as an academic, was that famous (probably posed) photo by Robert Capa of the Spanish Republican soldier falling backward as he is shot. It was probably three feet tall and five feet long.

We spoke of his early childhood in Barcelona and his experiences in pre-school from 1936-38, of how one day a Basque friend came to school with what Manolo thought was a toy gun and grenade; they turned out to be real. The head of the school had some serious words with the little girl's parents (she eventually wound up living in the Bay Area, "forgetting" the entire episode when Manolo brought it up while visiting decades later). Another person who chose to forget those initially exhilarating and then devastating times was Manolo's mother, who can be seen in another famous photograph—the one of

the several women militia members marching arm in arm in Barcelona. When I asked which miliciana she was, he answered "The most beautiful one."

A staunch anti-cleric (as befit his Catalan anarchist upbringing), in later years he would find a job teaching Latin American history at the University of San Francisco, a private Jesuit university. "The Jesuits are all Marxists," he told me. "Liberation Theology is just a clever way of continuing what Castro and Che started." Not only that, but most of them were gay as well. "When they go on vacations or sabbaticals to Central and South America, they hang out naked on the beaches and have sex with each other and with local boys." While I don't find either story to be too far-fetched, knowing his antipathy toward the Church makes me somewhat skeptical. At least regarding the part about the beaches.

After I moved to the East Bay and started up the anarchist study group, Manolo would often come to our weekly discussions, especially enjoying when we studied the Spanish Revolution. It was wonderful to have as part of our group someone who'd lived through it, whose parents had been active militants. That kind of continuity is something that is sorely lacking among today's anarchists.

Manolo came to every party I hosted. He seemed to brighten up in the company of so many younger people, temporarily able to forget the many physical ailments and frailties brought on by his old age (kidney trouble is what I remember most).

After he moved to Daly City, Manolo fell out of touch with most of the things I am involved in. I had to call to remind him of the annual Bookfair, and he was usually too exhausted after making it up to San Francisco to attend the BASTARD conference. Last year before the

Bookfair, I called him to let him know about it, but there was never any answer. I didn't know whom to call to find out if he was doing poorly, and that was how I left it. Seven months later, the last issue of the magazine came back to the PO Box. As I said, nothing like that should ever happen. I miss his laughter and his sly smile, his temper and his graciousness, his generous and gregarious spirit.

As I used to say whenever we parted, *salud y anarquía, compañero*.
Lawrence Jarach

I was at the Underground Publishing Conference in Bowling Green Ohio in the warm, sticky, Midwestern summer of 2000. While socializing on the front porch on the night before the conference, I found myself in an only somewhat-interesting conversation. Out of the corner of my half-listening ears, I heard someone behind me mention "...Anarchy Magazine..." and "...made-up writers." Abruptly, I disengaged from whatever conversation I was in and turned around. I knew a couple of people on the AJODA staff at the time, so I was interested in slyly discovering what was being said about them.

"Oh," I said to the guy doing the talking, "what magazine are you talking about?"

"Anarchy Magazine," he said, "Have you ever heard of it?"

"Hmm, yeah," I replied, "What about it?"

He had a couple complaints, but the one that grabbed my attention was the accusation that all the articles in the magazine were really only written by one or two guys who used pseudonyms to make it look like they had a big editorial staff. "I mean, this guy 'Manolo Gonzalez,'" he ranted, "is a totally made-up person! He's some young guy pretending he was alive during the Spanish Civil War! His chronology is all wrong!"

I let him rant for a bit about Manolo, and when he seemed to be done, I said, "Um, well, actually he is a real person."

"Really," he said, "and how do you know that?"

"Well, because I've met him," I said, "He comes to my weekly anarchist study group sometimes. And I've hung out with him at parties."

"Oh, so he's a young guy then, right?" asserted Mr. Skeptic.

"No, he's a grandfather," I corrected, "He's definitely old enough to have been a child during the War."

"Well, his chronology's inconsistent," he added.

"Do you have chronologically consistent memories of when you were a child?" I asked.

That was basically the end of the

conversation that evening. After all, I had kind of shut him up in front of the half-dozen people he had been ranting to. Later on in the conference, the skeptic told me he had been glad to have that conversation with me. I told him I would send Manolo his regards when I saw him next, and that maybe they could get together if Mr. Skeptic ever came to San Francisco. (Yes, I was laughing a little when I said it.)

I did tell Manolo the next time I saw him. He laughed very hard at the story. He tapped on his own arm — "Look! I'm a real person! How much more real do I have to get? It was a war! I remember it! When you live through something like that, you don't forget it!"

And I never forgot this story.

artnoose



Kelly Porter

Announcements

Midwest Books to
Prisoners, Chicago

We are a newly formed collective that sends much-needed reading materials to prisoners in states in the Midwest. (We don't reject anyone.)

If you are incarcerated and want us to send you reading materials, send a letter with your request and mail room stipulations to:

Midwest Books to Prisoners
1573 North Milwaukee Avenue,
PMB #460

Chicago, Illinois 60622

email mwbtp@riseup.net

June 10-12, 2005
Weekend of Resistance
for Political Prisoner
Jeff 'Free' Luers

June 2005 marks the five-year anniversary of the imprisonment of our friend: political prisoner, Jeff "Free" Luers, who was sentenced to more than 22 years in prison for burning three SUVs, and on trumped up arson charges. Since his imprisonment, Jeff has continued to be extremely active.

During the weekend of June 10-12th, 2005, we call on social justice activists from across the world to show their outrage about Jeff's imprisonment and the continued abuse and isolation of dissident prisoners.

There is no central organizing but the Jeff Luers Support Network can help by providing you with flyers, graphics, and merchandise such as videos, zines and stickers about Jeff and allies in the struggle. Begin planning your event now. Read more about Jeff's case at <http://www.freefreenow.org>

West Coast Contacts:

Break the Chains

www.breakthechains.net

San Francisco Jeffrey Luers
Support Network
freejeffreyluers@resist.ca

Portland, Oregon: The Perez Murder, One Year Later

On March 28th, 2004, Portland Police Officer Jason Sery shot and killed James Jahar Perez. A patrol stopped Perez, a Black man in an expensive auto, for failing to signal. Twenty four seconds later, Sery opened fire.

It was the second Portland cop killing of an unarmed Black person in less than a year. Local authorities braced for an angry response. Those most affected by cop brutality and violence did not create the uprising expected even by city government. One year after Perez's death, it is time to evaluate the lessons of this incident and its aftermath.

Portland, Oregon is one of the whitest cities in the United States. It also faces high unemployment, exceptional cuts in social spending and a pronounced class divide. Its low-income neighborhoods in North and Northeast Portland, as well as stretches of the suburbs, are home to most of the city's communities of color. The Portland Black community has been under sustained attack for decades, via drug wars, crudely oppressive policing, displacement campaigns and imprisonment. Latinos, Native Americans, Asians and poor whites don't fare much better in Portland's poorer neighborhoods. A wave of yuppie intrusion into North and Northeast Portland has further raised tensions. Gentrification of these neighborhoods has not only increased the cost of living, but also has focused police attention towards "undesirable elements," the most marginalized of the poor. For the cops patrolling Portland's North and Northeast, policing is a matter of holding down territory. Every day, they see residents that have little allegiance to local power structures. This frightens the cops. They often use race as a gauge of allegiance, a practice seen in their profiling of drivers of color. The consequences have

been deadly.

Before Jahar Perez, there was Kendra James. A twenty-one-year-old Black woman, she was killed by police in a traffic stop May 2003. Following the murder, local politicians and clergy successfully turned spontaneous expressions of disbelief and rage into a "vote and pray" movement. Eventually, Officer Scott McCollister took only a three quarter year vacation from the force for killing James.

Ten months later, when Jason Sery unloaded three shots into Jahar Perez, the mood had changed. Folk on the Portland streets talked about shooting back. Outside the Lucky Day Laundromat in North Portland, where Perez's life was stolen, an angry crowd of friends and locals gathered almost immediately. The police had difficulty containing the furious throng. Law enforcement would stay on the defensive for months to come. The media, politicians, and community leaders took the lead in encouraging a return to sleep.

The days following the murder brought a spate of superficial scandal. On the 29th, television news announced that Perez had been unarmed. Police Chief Foxworth raced to the Perez family home. Through conciliatory gestures, the Black police chief painted himself as a reformer, one who would bring needed changes to the force. After all, he was brought up in the same neighborhood as the Perez family. Another reformist, District Attorney Michael Schrunk, announced that a public inquest would accompany Officer Sery's grand jury hearing. The inquest would eventually serve as an after-the-fact public relations exercise for the city, yet it was cynically used by politicians as an argument for a "wait and see" approach. Meanwhile, newspapers examined every grim detail of Perez's death. The media hyped

autopsy results of cocaine in Perez's blood, and dragged his family name through the dirt.

A series of rallies followed. The first one took place downtown on April 4th. Organized by the Coalition of Black Men, the rally featured predictable speeches from groups such as the Albina Ministerial Alliance and the Nation of Islam. Similar to the rallies following Kendra James' murder, the crowd was encouraged to keep its cool. Yet things were also different this time. Local Black youth showed up in tee shirts with images of semi-automatic pistols and slogans suggesting an easy solution to police brutality. These shirts were openly sold on the streets the week before. One speaker, a former Black Panther, suggested tailing police patrols with videocameras. The suggestion was a tepid one, but it was one which no politician had the nerve to make. This further revealed the servility of the "community leadership." Some left the crowd determined to take action on their own.

Posters and flyers about the killing began to cover North and Northeast. Some of these materials were clearly anarchist, attacking all "community leaders," and suggesting independent revolt. Days after the April 4th rally, a new poster began appearing on poles throughout the neighborhood. Entitled "The Pigs Are Getting Away With Murder," it was produced by Arissa, an organization committed to "building a revolutionary movement in the United States of America."

Arissa's best-known member is Craig Rosebraugh, who served for years as the spokesperson for underground eco-saboteurs the Earth Liberation Front.

Arissa desires a "social and political revolution in the United States" to create a "political structure...to allow for an atmosphere of change." The group is

militant: they conceive of change coming from a "by any means necessary" political movement, which will force the US establishment to either radically reform itself or crumble. According to the Arissa Mission Statement, the group aims to meet this goal through "community organizing." Their cadre moved quickly from print propaganda to attempts to rally a whole community behind them.

At a cost of hundreds if not thousands of dollars, Arissa bought advertising space in a local weekly paper, and sent out a bulk mailing to residences in North and Northeast, announcing a "march for justice and police accountability." The demands of this march were: 1. "Ensure Jason Sery, the Portland Police Bureau officer who shot and killed unarmed James Perez is prosecuted for murder. 2. Ensure a Citizens' Committee to Oversee the Portland Police conduct is established with independent disciplinary power."

These demands represented a noticeable departure from the Arissa style of just two weeks before, with their earlier poster claiming that "Sometimes an eye for an eye is the only way to make the pigs stop terrorizing the community... They have got to learn they cannot continue to kill us without severe consequences."

Arissa's leadership was soon questioned. A major controversy erupted on Portland Indymedia, an internet forum, concerning Arissa and "white privilege". While some of the criticisms made of Arissa were inane—written proofs why Pacific Northwest urban centers are known just as much for political correctness as for coffee chains—others were more cutting.

Arissa had not done their homework; their links with the communities in

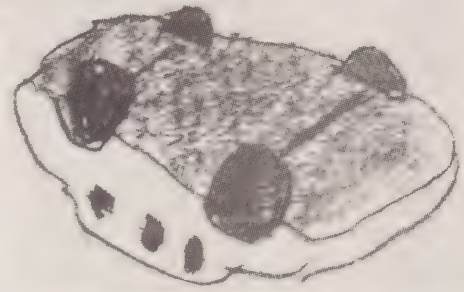
North and Northeast were tenuous at best. Others accused Arissa of playing at being saviors.

Meanwhile, another group of orga-

nizers, Rose City Copwatch, were obtaining slightly better results. Before Perez was murdered, the group had sponsored a competition—the first individual to bring them a photograph of Scott McCollister, the killer of Kendra James, would receive a prize of forty dollars worth of groceries. This announcement created a major political controversy, with Black community leaders making statements to the press such as "It's definitely the wrong approach to take. We have to create a community where the police and the citizens are equal... It's wrong for them to use James to justify their attack on McCollister" (Jo Ann Bowman, quoted in the Portland Tribune, February 20th, 2004). Then Mayor Vera Katz and Police Chief Foxworth denounced Rose City Copwatch as vigilantes.

By April, Rose City Copwatch had pictures of both McCollister and Sery. They distributed one thousand copies of these in a single afternoon. When the group sent out press releases about this action, they received hostile media coverage. Despite this, and despite the group's own political ambiguity—the organization cannot decide whether to abolish or transform the police—their modest action was the best from any mass organization. It was simple, imaginative and immediately useful. The group emerged from weeks of frantic activity without looking too bad.

On Thursday, April 22nd, a Multnomah County [Portland] Grand Jury refused to bring charges against Officer Sery for killing Perez. Those who had been told to wait and see before acting, now responded to the predictable Grand Jury findings with silence. The initiative was lost. The following day, the Black church leaders of the Albina Ministerial Alliance held a rally, attended by one hundred fifty to two hundred people. A flyer was distributed at this event urging non-attendance



at the next day's Arissa rally. It was signed by the Perez family, the James family, and the Keller family (Deontae Keller was killed by the Portland cops in 1996).

Two hundred to three hundred people took part in the April 24th Arissa march. This was a miniscule attendance considering the group's outreach expenses. The crowd reflected local activist circles, not the overall communities targeted by Arissa's direct mail campaign. No speaker at the initial rally was based in North or Northeast Portland. The protestors marched, with a heavy police escort, to the Mayor's house. Media presence prevented a police attack. In the days that followed, Arissa claimed that the demonstration was the start of a major campaign, with the promise of escalation. Predictably, the group has done little but issue press releases since then.

The Arissa rally was the last large-scale demonstration confronting Perez's death. A public inquest followed the Grand Jury verdict, whitewashing the murder with more lies. Small groups remained committed to action. One group that formed after the Perez murder, the Portland Community Liberation Front, continues to monitor the police with videocameras. The local Anarchist People of Color (APOC) group went through a stint of holding educational forums. In the aftermath of the Arissa debacle, APOC released a statement critiquing both racist behavior and white guilt within the Portland milieu, mentioning Arissa by name.

The response of Craig Rosebraugh, posted in a public forum, climaxed with the statement: "[...] we are no longer prepared to sit back while we are being slandered publicly. For those of you who continue to spread misinformation about the Arissa organization or any of its members, including myself, we are prepared to take legal action against you."

On August 24th, Jason Sery offered his resignation from the Portland Police. He had been kindly offered a full-time position with his local church and the Southwest Bible School. This was convenient for police leaders, who could guess the consequences if Sery ever returned to active duty.

Most Portland anti-authoritarians have failed spectacularly in drawing any lessons from their activity following the Perez murder. Anarchists in

Portland traditionally alternate between publicizing short-lived collectives during moments of enthusiasm, and reverting back to permaculture skills and Pabst Blue Ribbon for the rest of the year. Analysis within the anarchist scene is not always strong. Little Beirut, a journal with a left-anarchist history, drew the following conclusion from the murder of Perez: "Militant tactics will lead to more police violence and repercussions, particularly on people and communities of color." This statement is typical of the "white ally" theory dominant within the local anarchist subculture.

In this theory, all white people are so complicit with the racist system that their only role in struggle is as "allies" and "supporters" of people of color. This is a moral critique based on guilt, yet it also absolves white "revolutionaries" from ever having to put themselves on the line. As a theoretical framework justifying anarchist non-resistance to capital and state, it has proved incredibly popular. This theory has also led the worst of the anarcho-left to make

de facto alliances with middle class Black Democrats, on the basis that well-paid politicians of color are more oppressed than slum whites.

There is a "chain of complicity" connecting those holding apparently extreme positions to those in state power. This chain must be broken. Many anarchists, who ought to know better, tagged along with the usual faces on the Left following the Perez murder. The rationale of these anarchists was opposition to "exclusionary" and "sectarian" positions. In brief, they were so desperate for friends that they sacrificed all discernment. One group, which has since collapsed, decided that they wouldn't have anyone of importance to talk with unless they toned down their anti-authoritarianism. The Left and the North/Northeast community leaders, on the other hand, feign opposition to the power apparatus while desperately trying to enter into it. Radicals bind their own hands when they pander to such politicians. The "liberal" character of Portland city politics means that the ultra-conservatism of Bush's regime becomes used as a threat by civic leadership, as a means of securing loyalty no matter how deadly their rule proves to be. The only way to put a stop to this trend is stepping outside of left/right, liberal/conservative dichotomies, maintaining intransigently radical perspectives instead.

Honest discussion of race is one way of damaging the "chain of complicity." Those who openly stated that the Perez murder was a racist act by a racist institution, yet refused the immobilizing perspective of "ally" theory, began to shatter everyday consensus. They forced people to take sides. Both the Black community leaders who went easy on Chief Foxworth, and the irate well-to-do whites who called Rose City Copwatch to speculate on which unarmed murder victims "had it coming," made their opposition to entire

neighborhoods and communities clear. We must continue to build an analysis of race and racism that stands up to reality. This begins with examining race as socially constructed category.

Race is not a fixed, inherent or "natural" classification. It was created historically as a support for, and an intensification of, class rule. While many recognize this, such a basic statement is generally treated as the end of a discussion, rather than serving as a beginning. One fruitful approach could be looking at race (and racism) in terms of its institutional bases. These bases may then be attacked in ways that destabilize racial solidarity with the dominant class. White racism should neither be exaggerated—see the liberal-statist campaigns against militias and gunfolk in the 1990s—nor denied, for example within the US police. It is still a serious enemy. On the other hand, the identities of oppressed racial communities ought to be looked at, particularly in the ways they are represented by "community" political leaders. In Portland, the Albina Ministerial Alliance sold the Black community as worthy of "equality" within a brutal class order, while the Nation of Islam propagated an essentialist Black identity and a separatist strategy. Both groups should have been undermined a long time ago, rather than being allowed to play games with people's lives. Collective legacies against oppression ought to be respected and learned from, yet they are only useful when pointing toward futures of individual liberty and difference, not as justifications for the way things are.

Directly following Perez's death, there was a distinct feeling that social peace was about to end in Portland. When police left their cars, those on the street would stop to watch their every move. The typically listless punk rockers at my neighborhood bar talked about how even full-blown race riots

would be better than Portland carrying on as before—perhaps a dubious statement, but not one that misgauged the level of anger in North/Northeast. Rumors even started to grow that build-ups of police vehicles near the precinct, or the sounds of late-night gunfire, could be attributed to the early stages of a rebellion.

One year on, Portland appears more tranquil. Perez's death triggered a series of institutional changes within city government, improving nothing but the quality of illusions. During 2004's mayoral election, Tom Potter was able to triumph over favorite Jim Francesconi in part due to the fallout from Perez's death. Francesconi had served on City Council at the time of the shooting, and lost favor in whole neighborhoods because of it.

Potter used to be a Police Chief, but he talked loudly about police accountability and reform throughout his campaign. Now, with Potter at the wheel, Portland has a mayor who favors "participation," and shows up at Critical Mass bicycle rides and anti-Bush protests. Potter is both unable and unwilling to prevent further cop attacks, yet his image as a "listener" will hamper the efforts of angry Portlanders, until he is correctly identified as an enemy.

The ugly public inquest following Perez's death was itself a concession forced by the threat of mass rebellion. When Jason Sery made a last-minute decision to give televised, rather than audio-only, testimony to the inquest, this was likely the

result of Rose City Copwatch having already widely distributed his image. Uproar from below forces a minimum of tinkering from above. The greatest guarantors of the Portland Police's ability to kill with impunity, however, are the activists and politicians who claim such adjustments as victories, and as proof that, in the end, the cooler heads prevail. Those who actively strive to be outside of power and politics, on the other hand, may prove to be a threat beyond their modest numbers.

In Portland, the cops will kill again. Nobody knows what will happen then. The charades of participation, activism and community leadership can only hold the system together for so long. At some stage, a calm consensus will collapse. In every consistent effort of today, we learn also to seize the opportunities of tomorrow. In acting now, we prepare.

Dave Negation

Contact: dave@socialwar.net

Dan Lewis



Anarchy in the Age of Dinosaurs – the Curious George Brigade (Yellow Jack Distro, Mosinee, 2003) 152 pages, \$6, paper
reviewed by Lawrence Jarach

This rant was done in collaboration with the CrimethInc. publishing empire. Like many other CrimethInc. works, I enjoyed the heady mix of humor and good writing. I remember chuckling to myself a few times as I read *AAD*. I remember liking much of it, even though, with my obsession with the Spanish Revolution/Civil War and my love of both history and theory, I am certainly more on the dinosaur side of things. And for the life of me, a month after I finished it, I can't remember much of anything else about this little book—I don't remember why I liked it or what was in it. It's not that my memory is going or that *AAD* wasn't interesting enough to remember. There's something about CrimethInc. that makes it difficult for me to be an enthusiastic supporter, and that seems to be the overall lack of inspiration in their various written projects. The combination of creative plagiarism (and the other self-referential kernels of high intellect), simple yet sophisticated writing style, and uncompromising antiauthoritarianism can't make up for the distinct lack of coherence upon finishing one of their papers, pamphlets, or books. CrimethInc. is like popcorn: enjoyable enough while being chewed, but ultimately unsatisfying.

Anarchy, Geography, Modernity – The Radical Social Thought of Elisée Reclus - John P. Clark, Camille Martin (eds.) (The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc. Lanham, 2004) 272 pages, \$70, hardcover
reviewed by Aragorn!

This book is about the important, and entirely under-appreciated and -known French anarchist Elisée Reclus. Reclus contributed to our under-

standing of an ecological worldview, wrote popular books with this perspective, and integrated these ideas into his anarchism. Reclus gave the eulogy at the funeral of Bakunin. Reclus lived most of his life an exile, as appeared to be the fashion in the 19th-century anarchist milieu, only returning to France towards the end of his life.

Reclus' ecological theories pointed in a direction that a Green Anarchist perspective could have headed towards and has not. He had a more interesting perspective than the Social Ecologist view that would probably lay itself most firmly in his tradition. "Man is nature becoming self-conscious" is how Reclus begins his book on social theory. He argued against ideological thought that would interfere in the project of our understanding more fully our place in nature. Furthermore Reclus argued for a dialectical understanding of nature. "As plants or animal, including humans, leave their native habitat and intrude on another environment, the harmony of nature is temporarily disturbed."

While he rejected the view of his time of a human-centered universe: "It (is) stupid to deny a soul to animals, to plants and to all that is still termed 'insensible matter,' as if such matter could be found anywhere in the universe."

From this base Reclus had great insight as to society's exploitative form as being a result of our ecological despair. His insights would not be unfamiliar to the biocentric and anti-civilization perspectives of today. Citing the Maori of New Zealand Reclus quotes, "The white man's rat drives away our rat, his fly drives away our fly, his clover kills our ferns, and the white man will end by destroying the Maori."

For Reclus a coming-into knowledge is his antidote for the attitude of modern society's ecological-cum-alienated woes. This knowledge, in his view, would result in a 'consciousness

HUMANITY AND THE EARTH/L'HOMME ET LA TERRE: THE LEGACY OF ELISÉE RECLUS (1830-1905)

October 28-30, 2005 - Loyola University New Orleans, Louisiana

This year marks the 175th anniversary of the birth of Elisée Reclus and the 100th anniversary of his death. On the occasion of this double anniversary we will gather for a conference to discuss the life and work of Reclus and to investigate the ways in which his legacy is relevant to our world today.

Reclus is considered by many to be the greatest geographer of his age and he is generally recognized as a pioneering figure in the development of social geography. His sixteen-thousand page *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle* was a monumental intellectual achievement which, as geographer Gary Dunbar observes, "for a generation was to serve as the ultimate geographical authority" and constituted "probably the greatest individual writing feat in the history of geography." His work culminated in the thirty-five-hundred-page *L'Homme et la Terre*, a grand synthesis of his ideas concerning geography, history, philosophy, politics, sociology, religion, anthropology, and many other fields.

Reclus, perhaps more than any other 19th century social thinker, contributed to the development of a comprehensive ecological world view. His focus on our place in nature is expressed in the opening words of *L'Homme et la Nature*: "Humanity is Nature becoming self-conscious." Reclus can be seen as a founder of both social ecology and political ecology, inasmuch as he carefully traced the interconnections between the social, the political and the ecological, and he saw the solution to ecological

problems as necessitating a wide-ranging, and indeed revolutionary political and economic transformation of society.

In addition, Reclus was a major social philosopher and one of the foremost theorists of anarchism. His analysis of the state, capitalism, technology, racism, patriarchy, authoritarian culture and the domination of nature constitutes perhaps the most far-ranging critique of domination in the history of anarchist thought. He was also an important figure in the development of urbanism, was one of the most original theorists of libertarian education, and made important contributions to ethical vegetarianism and the consideration of our treatment of other species.

Finally, Reclus lived an extraordinary life as a scientist, scholar, revolutionary and human being. He saw all his diverse activities as integral expressions of his commitment to the struggle for human freedom and of his concern for the good of humanity and other living beings. Biographers have described his life as an inspiring example of compassion, solidarity, egalitarianism, dedication, humility, intellectual curiosity, joy in living, and a deep love of humanity and nature.

Conference presentations, which should be in English, may address any area of the legacy of Reclus. Requests for further information and proposals for presentations (which are due by April 15), should be sent, preferably by email, to:

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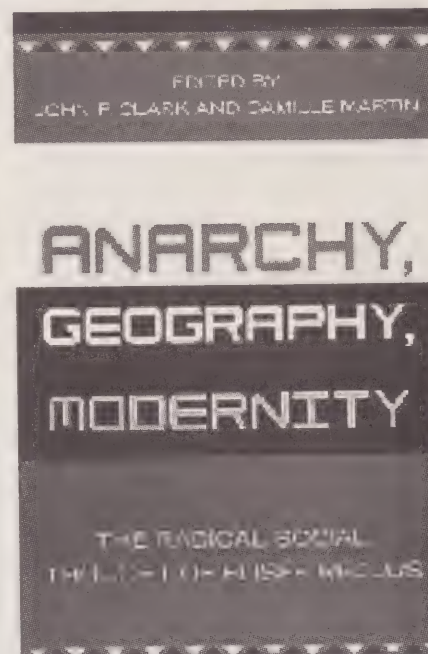
of the earth' that seemingly would resemble the empathetic protagonist of Parable of the Sower.

It is a shame that Reclus's anarchism has not been a more dominant force in the English speaking world. Further it is a great travesty that this excellent introduction to his thought by Clark and Martin is priced so high as to be entirely inaccessible to a readership that would actually put these ideas into practice. From Reclus' translation of Kropotkin's *Conquest of Bread*:

Anarchistic society has long been in a process of rapid development... wherever free thought breaks loose the chains of dogma; wherever the spirit of inquiry rejects the old formulas; wherever the human will asserts itself through independent actions; wherever honest people, rebelling against all enforced discipline, join freely together in order to educate themselves, and to reclaim, without any master their share of life, and the complete satisfaction of their needs.

Fuck yeah! This is far more inspiring than any red-green division that dominates certain portions of anarchist thought. This is an eloquent statement, in simple language, of our aspiration to such an extent that dreams about origins, workers, and dictatorships pale in comparison.

Clark and Martin have opened the door, through their deep introduction and selected reprints, to one of the great thinkers of 19th century anarchist thought. Our project now should be to integrate Reclus's thought into our modern conversations about ecology, modernity, and humanity.



Anarchism - Sean M. Sheehan
(Reaktion Book, London 2003)
175 pages. paper, \$19.95
reviewed by Lawrence Jarach

Sheehan is one of those rare writers who is not an anarchist but who takes anarchist ideas seriously. That he takes them seriously should make it easier for anarchists to take his many criticisms seriously as well. Of course that doesn't mean that he is always right about the trajectories of various ideas or people. One huge error comes early on in the book, on page 43, where he talks about Ted Kaczynski being "influenced by the writings of primitivists like John Zerzan," even though there's no evidence of such so-called influence. Connected with Sheehan's hostile dismissal of primitivism as "a particular brand of American anti-authoritarianism that claims to be anarchist but which, like anarcho-capitalism, has a more natural home on the individualist fringes of right-wing extremism," the connection he tries to make between Zerzan and Kaczynski are worrisome, somehow making Zerzan responsible for "the humdrum prose of the Unabomber's [sic] Manifesto" —and

presumably much else as well. Much more likely is the influence of proto-primitivists Jacques Ellul, Morris Berman, and other—much earlier—writers with concerns about technology and alienation. Incidentally, readers are never given any insight into why Sheehan has decided that primitivism is actually more right wing than anarchist—we just have to take his authoritative word for it (I am not saying that there aren't aspects of primitivist thought that are troubling; see my essay "Why Primitivism (Without Adjectives) Makes Me Nervous" in *Anarchy* #52).

Another mistake Sheehan makes is when he refers to the Kronstadt naval base as "a centre for anarchist communists" (87). In fact, the majority of the sailors at Kronstadt were pro-Bolshevik, having been lured—along with the Left Socialist Revolutionaries, Maximalists, and Left Communists—into taking the slogan "all power to the soviets" at face value (see Avrich, *Kronstadt* 1921; especially pp. 57-65 for the varying influences). There was certainly a more radical and libertarian quality to the revolutionary outlook of most Kronstadters as evidenced by their support of anarchists in Petrograd, their protests against the Bolshevik armistice treaty with Germany, and their annoyance at the increasingly arbitrary and bureaucratic nature of the Bolshevik state. But that's a long way from the island fortress being a center of anarchist anything. The independent and non-sectarian spirit of the Kronstadt rebels certainly makes their memory dear to anarchists, but it just isn't historically accurate to make them anarchists.

The most interesting chapter is called "Marx, Nietzsche and Anarchism" in which their philosophical systems are compared and contrasted. Sheehan gives fair treatment to each in turn, and hints at some kind of melding of the tendencies—an intriguing possibility, even if it does

sound pretty hokey in his words:

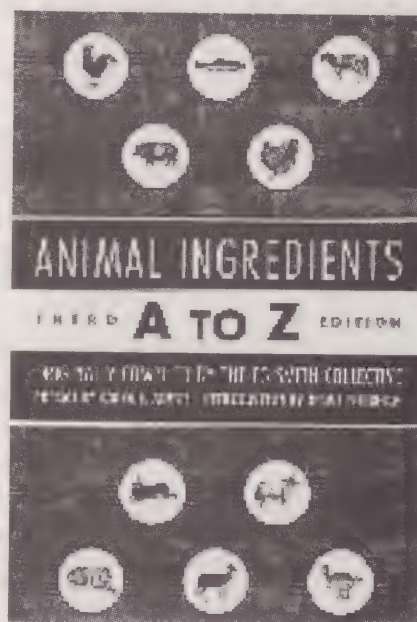
Marxism has an [sic] long-overdue appointment with anarchism, one that Marx himself was reluctant to make and one that Lenin erased for some 70 years. Now, finally freed from the shackles of Soviet statism, the time has arrived for that appointment to be met" (72).

The aesthetic revolt of anarchist-influenced cultural forms (from Impressionism and Surrealism all the way through to Cyberpunk) is also explored in a respectful and serious manner, while he's constantly at pains to remind readers that artistic expression as a separate, specialized, activity (not his words) is chic (his word) and therefore ultimately unthreatening to the status quo. After the declarations and actions of members of the Situationist International, who would dare to say anything different?

He gives readers a nice summing-up, even if it's not at the very end:

Anarchism is a tension...between the way things are and the ways they could be, between being and becoming, despair and hope, between solitude and solidarity, between communism and individualism; between Marx and Nietzsche, a tension between the power and the limitations of rationalism, between rejecting violence and acknowledging the limits of pacifism... The new anarchism accepts and lives with the tension as a necessary and powerful dynamic... (158)

Despite the several historical mistakes mentioned earlier, it's clear that Sheehan gets it, and that's a rare treat indeed.



Animal Ingredients: A to Z
- E.G. Smith Collective (AK Press, Oakland, 2004) 99 pages, \$9.95, paper,

reviewed by LD Hobson

Eleven percent of this modest book is dedicated to the highly emotional and pseudo-philosophical preface and introductions (one for each of the three editions). Blah. Sadly, once you have suffered through these emotional minefields you will be thrust into a kind of informational chaos.

Which brings me to my main complaint about the book: it suffers from a particularly nasty form of disorganization disorder (a little known personality problem common to AK Press books), which is unfortunate because the facts are quite useful and interesting.

Chapter 1 is dedicated to relating factoids and refuting myths. An interesting section, but best relegated to sidebars or perhaps an appendix.

Chapter 2 contains a not-so-detailed introduction to vegan nutrition and a list of nutrients vegans commonly fret over. A lofty task for a small book and perhaps better left for other more complete books. Happily the appendix lists some.

Chapters 3, 4, and 6 are finally what

you were expecting when you took up the book. A detailed list of ingredients and their sources, some obvious and some quite disgusting. This section is more helpful than other books I have read on the subject, which have simply listed brands or producers (which is not helpful at all when buying ingredients to make your own stuff or when you're in a nowhere shop with locally produced goods).

Chapter 5 is all about alcohol...not suitable for the straight edger, but personally I appreciate getting more info on this subject. Yum. I'm not sure why they stuck the alcohol chapter between the definitely and possibly animal-derived ingredients chapters...maybe it was happy hour?

Chapter 7 is full of useful and not so useful information. It details where they got their data from, gives you a way to contact the same folks, and provides several contacts utile if you're new to veganism or just want to learn more.

You will find no endearing pictures or pithy cartoons, no linear organization of information and no fancy layout. If you look for it, you will get the lowdown on some hard-to-find vegan minutiae. I recommend skipping around. You may find some order that I didn't.

Burning Rage of a Dying Planet
- Craig Rosebraugh (Lantern Books, New York, 2004) 304 pages, paper, \$20

reviewed by Aragorn!

This is likely to be the best book that Rosebraugh ever writes. Unlike his *The Logic of Political Violence* this title actually reads like it was written by a human being and not a revolutionary robot. It tells the story of an exciting chapter in American radical politics. This is also the story of a young man coming straight from the middle class into the spotlight of the American jurisprudence and media industries. Finally it is the story of consistent liberal principles being

challenged by the harassment of the FBI and the environmental movement and coming up short.

One of the interesting threads through this book is the idea of the American rebel. You see it in characters as diverse as Abbie Hoffman, Henry David Thoreau, and Rosebraugh. These are stories of happy childhoods, a degree of privilege and education, and a clear indoctrination in American values. Then through some perceived or actual indignity these somewhat rebels enter into a sort of conflict; let's call it a loyal conflict, with the powers that be. They accept the terms of the game and they play it. In Rosebraugh's case an interest in animal rights and (ahem) social justice led to his receipt of an anonymous note in the mail.

We are simply humans who have answered a call to action with more love than fear... The intense joy of seeing a living creature taste freedom for the first time is truly indescribable...

This announced the release of 12,000 mink from a fur farm in Mt. Angel, Oregon. To which he, through his experience with the Liberation Collective (his animal rights - cum -social justice group) as media spokesperson, decided to hold a press conference and thereby enter into three and a half years of grand jury testimony, FBI surveillance, and media spotlight.

I guess I am a fundamentally legalistic kind of person who believes in the country and the laws it is based on... For whatever reason, Vail won this one. They went through the process, jumped the hurdles and won. That's that. You play the game, and if you lose, you have to accept it. I guess all we can do is hope that the skiing will be good. -Kevin Knappmiller, Sierra Club



What radical environmentalists have to struggle against, in the form of the mainstream environmental movement is apparent. If you cannot accept factory farming, or the building of yet-another-resort, and your only recourse is through petition, legislation, and generally playing-by-the-rules your are going to have to become well acquainted with defeat. The rules are stacked. Even if they were not, if you accept the rules of the game, you have to accept defeats along with victories. If your battles are moral, which is clearly the case for the animal rights perspective and often the case for the ELF, then this is not acceptable. This is why the tactic of a sort of direct action was implemented. Direct action is unmediated behavior that directly achieves a desired goal. As the last tool for the desperate, a modified direct action has become an increasingly popular tool for resistance. Chaining yourself to the door of the Forest Service is not direct action unless your actual goal is to stop Forest Service bureaucrats from getting to work (and there isn't a back door or low hanging window). Modified direct action generally means that you sacrifice your end goal (lets say the halting of the building of ski resorts in general, or ski resorts in Vail in particular) for a reasonable secondary goal (stopping the construction of a specific resort let's say). It isn't the same as taking a loaf of bread that you need

to not starve, but in the case of Vail, it did end up costing an insurance company \$12 million.

Where the radical environmental movement fails is in taking the rejection of participation in legalistic game-playing only one step further. It continues to accept the game itself, merely rejecting the rules as they are currently written. Rosebraugh as a disciple of Gandhi deals with this turmoil throughout his time as the spokesperson for the ELF. His conclusion, towards the end of his time there as he is rejecting this 'game + 1' problem, is interesting.

It is my firm belief that the individual drive for profit, particularly in the United States, is so extreme that it has neutralized society's approved tactics, at least in their capacity to succeed on their own. Individuals, corporations, and governments have demonstrated through this country's history that financial gain is more important than life, freedom, and universal justice.

Anything written about Rosebraugh has to discuss what he has made of himself since stepping down as spokesperson of the ELF. Obviously he has written two books, created a Revolutionary organization (it is called Arissa and it is revolutionary), and opened a vegan restaurant. Recently he has created a scandal by firing a group of his employees who were attempting to organize a union (and who were performing a work stoppage at the time). I'll leave analysis of that set of events for another time.

The Daily Show with Jon Stewart Presents: America (The Book); A Citizen's Guide to Democracy Inaction - Jon Stewart, Ben Karlin, and David Javerbaum (eds.) (Warner Books, New York 2004) 228 pages, hardcover, \$24.95
reviewed by Lawrence Jarach

A parody of high school history textbooks, *America (The Book)* is one of the funniest books I've read in a long time. Not having cable tv, I have only rarely seen "The Daily Show with Jon Stewart" on Comedy Central, but what I have seen made me want to get this book as soon as I could. While Stewart and company are certainly not anarchists (Stewart calls himself a centrist), this is an equal-opportunity satire, lambasting Republicans and Democrats alike in addition to generous swipes at network and cable TV news programs and talking heads.

Like most good (?) textbooks, this one is filled with charts, diagrams, and lots of pictures to keep the student busy and distracted from the otherwise boring body of text-based information. We are treated to chapter heading like "The President: King of Democracy," "Congress: Quagmire of Freedom," "Campaigns and Elections: America Changes the Sheets," and "The Rest of the World: International House of Horrors." In the chapter on Congress, there are some sidebars with a glossary. My favorite is this one: Caucus - From the Algonquin Indian word meaning "to meet together," an informal congressional organization, to discuss issues of concern to a particular group. Example - "The plan to drive the Algonquin Indians off their ancestral lands was hammered out in a congressional caucus." (63)

A chart with some "Interesting Moments in Senate History" contains these gems: "The name of Senator Joseph McCarthy (R-WI) became synonymous with an era, not unlike his colleague, Representative William Pleistocene (D-MN)," and "The leading segregationist of his day, [Strom] Thurmond's racist rhetoric so appalled the state of South Carolina it re-elected him to the Senate seven times." Thurmond also "set the record for longest filibuster with [a] 24-hour, 18-minute speech railing

against a civil-rights bill. The marathon speaking session left Thurmond so drained, he could barely have sex with the underaged black woman in his family's employ."

Much of the chapter on news media presents a devastatingly ironic assessment of cable news and particular self-described journalists. Reading that section of the book I was reminded of what a media critic called the coverage of the build-up to the war in Iraq: he called it "disinfotainment." I hardly think Stewart and the rest of the "Daily Show" writers and producers would disagree. The challenge of that chapter is to parody a subject that became a self-parody year ago.

What makes satire effective is an intelligent familiarity with the subject being parodied. The writers and editors clearly have a lot of knowledge about the way the US government is supposed to work (based on real high school textbooks no doubt) as well as the way it actually works. Hence "Democracy Inaction." While not destined to be an anarchist classic, this book is certain to keep most readers laughing.

The Day Philosophy Dies - Casey Maddox (Flashpoint Press, Crescent City, 2004) 266 pages, paper \$20

reviewed by Dot Matrix

Okay, short answer—yes, this is worth reading.

This, despite the fact that it is published by Derrick Jensen, who is too much of a golden boy in some circles; and despite the fact that it is priced for an audience that doesn't include me, and despite it being political fiction, which is notoriously single-minded.

As a twisted utopia and as a satire (wait, aren't those the same things?), and as light reading, this book gives almost-flesh to many of the ideas bandied about in the pages of some

of your favorite magazines, and does it with characters named for some of the icons in our midst.

It is a bloody mad romp, scathing and cranky and written for people with short attention spans, about a protagonist who gets into more should-be-fatal-but-aren't situations than anyone since last night's television show.

There are surprise endings that don't happen at the end, there are twists that actually surprised me (and that are charmingly irrelevant), and there's enough conspiracy for X Files and Lone Gunman fans alike.

While this book didn't ever quite grab me by the throat and shake me, when I was done with it I did want to sit and blink for a while.

The Day includes hints about how to do some large scale things that you might like to do, and frequent exhortations to "try it for yourself," and about three quarters of the way into it, there is a scenario that finally made me settle down and agree to have a good time. Naming no names, Maddox makes a statement (about a particular environmentalist personality/spectacle) that is a perfect mix of disturbing and excellent and brutal

—a combination that seems to be one of the author's main goals. The fact that this combination worked even once makes the book almost worth the price of admission. Of course, YMMV.

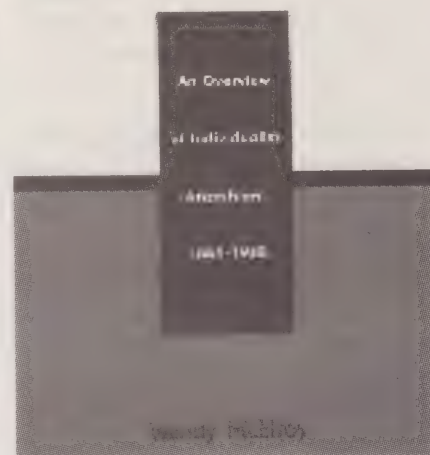
I do appreciate a book that finishes stronger than it starts, and given that this book starts in the middle of a murder/kidnapping, this is actually saying something.

The Debates of Liberty: An Overview of Individualist Anarchism, 1881-1908 - Wendy McElroy (Lexington Books, Lanham, 2003) 201 pages, hardcover \$60
reviewed by Lawrence Jarach

McElroy is a contributing editor to the contemporary periodical *Liberty*, which promotes a sort of laissez-faire capitalism tinged with a heavy dose of paleo-conservatism. This excessively expensive volume is dedicated to dissecting the various arguments and debates that took place in the pages of the previous periodical of the same name edited by Benjamin Tucker.

Tucker was a complicated political philosopher, referring to himself as both a champion of private property and a socialist. Perhaps we should expect nothing else from the translator of Proudhon, who shared similar views. McElroy, however, seems at pains to downplay Tucker's self-described socialism, noting at the end of the first chapter (and in essence, chiding Tucker and others) that "perhaps most destructively, Individualist Anarchism clung to the labor theory of value... The stagnant movement failed to comprehend the logical alternative to the State—a free market laissez-faire capitalist system" (11). The labor theory of value was (and remains) one of the cornerstones of socialist economics, and since Tucker declared his allegiance to some form of socialism (the term was much more malleable at the turn of the 20th cen-

The Debates of Liberty



tury than it is today), it would be surprising indeed if he had abandoned it for the free market fantasy. This is also the unfair criticism of most ideologues—taking someone to task for not holding the same beliefs as they do. Further, why this ahistorical fantasy should be "the logical alternative to the State"—as opposed to the abolition of the state, a phenomenon that has actually taken place from time to time—is never articulated, let alone presented in any convincing way; it is merely taken for granted as true with the smug self-assurance of a true believer.

Nevertheless, if the reader can manage to ignore the editorial comments that concern economics (there's a whole chapter on money), s/he will be treated to a more detailed examination of the discussions that took place within the constellation of American individualist anarchism a hundred years ago. McElroy has divided the issues thematically rather than chronologically, which makes them easier to follow. Topics include electoral (and other forms of pro-state) politics, the question of



violence (never really defined, and almost always including damage to property—as one might expect from pro-property folks), “natural rights” and egoism (Tucker was the publisher of the first English translation of Stirner), the rights of children, and trials by jury. All in all, it is a fine addition to the study of an overlooked aspect of American anarchism.

A Declaration of the Rights of Human Beings - Raoul Vaneigem (Pluto Press, Sterling, 2003) 134 pages, paper \$24.95
reviewed by Aragorn!

One of the narrative arcs in Vaneigem's *The Revolution of Everyday Life* was framed by definitions of active and passive nihilism. In a more nuanced stance than Nietzsche was capable of, Vaneigem reclaims nihilism by using Rozanov's definition: “The show is over. The audience get up to leave their seats. Time to collect their coats and go home. They turn round... No more coats and no more home.”

He then moves forward from that definition to build a foundation for a nihilist worldview. This includes the collapse of myth, the illusion of value, history as entropy, and the boredom of survival. Then passive and active become positions one would choose given this arrangement. Do we choose participation and conformity for the sake of a zero-work principle or do we speed up the process of dissolution?

Many years have passed, and while Vaneigem's light may have too, he is still concerned about some of these same questions. In the case of *A Declaration* he may no longer see our role as the shakers of the foundations of the world but as a more defensive position. We are no longer concerned with how we are going to approach and engage in a revolutionary moment. We failed in Los Angeles '65, Paris '68, and today. We know failure

and must move on.

In Vaneigem's case this involves what can be described as a reclaiming of the United Nations Universal Declaration on Human Rights from 1948 and the tradition that inspired it. This has been his trajectory for some time as his writing has been decidedly more historical, even if inspired, for some time. His motivation is an apparent belief that humanism, without exception, is the palliative to the current order.

In his lengthy (or at least dense) introduction Vaneigem reflects on the need for this restatement.

The dictatorship of exchange value has everywhere propagated a nihilism that terrifies minds and bodies with the shadows of death. The cyclone of financial speculation has overturned the values of the past, and there is no ethic that resists the monetary flux in which everything is cancelled out by the fact of everything as exchange.

The responsibility for the horrors of modern life is placed solidly at the feet of Capital. The consequence of this horror is no longer understood on the arc of an active or passive nihilism, but echoing Nietzsche's original use of what we would call an asocial nihilism. Exchange value, Institutional frameworks, and Catholicism are all vectors that result in this asocial nihilism. They do not require life.

Vaneigem accepts this as foundational to ‘A Declaration’ even as he criticizes the very humanism that he argues for in the language we would expect from him.

If humanism puts man back at the center of the universe, it is at the heart of a world which alienates him. The word itself carries a whiff of hypocrisy: it is paid for with merchandise that has a human face so as to forget that

it carves its inhumanity on the flesh of those who produce this very merchandise. It represents and obstructs what might reach a stage beyond economic man.

As for the Rights themselves? They are, as you would expect, a roundup of the best of Western Enlightened Thought. If you were going to rewrite modern history and still keep Europe on center stage you would start with principals like: 1. Men and women have no value by virtue of their birth, nor by their power, nor by their possessions. Their only value lies in their humanity. It is the quality from which all others flow.

Well over two thirds of this somewhat small edition is filled with this legalistic development of rights. Many of the rights are a great read and it's emotionally satisfying to imagine a social fabric that includes poetry and play well as commerce and the expectations of the citizenry. But a path has been chosen by Vaneigem that differentiates him from his prior writings. We understand how an active nihilism may transform itself into a passive one. What we do not understand is how a negotiation could ever develop with this asocial nihilist reality. Why would we choose to provide tools to this system that at best it will use to further its own agenda?

The most disturbing aspect of this book ends up being the pull quote from the *Le Monde* review of it. “All opponents of globalization should carry it in their luggage.” What could be more disturbing than the image of thousands of affluent, educated, protestors flipping through a book about rights before they mass together to speak truth to power, petition authority, and, at best, break a few windows. *Le Monde* gets it right, here. This is an important book in the anti-globalization moment of history. It is a rock thrown through a window in the towering artifice that

manages, calculates, and dominates us. Many readers will believe that this rock could bring the whole thing down.

Emma Goldman: A Documentary History of the American Years. Volume 1: Made For America 1890-1901 - Candace Falk (ed) (University of California Press, Berkeley 2003) 655 pages, hardcover \$60
Volume 2: Making Speech Free, 1902-1909 - Candace Falk (ed) (University of California Press, Berkeley 2005) 639 pages, hardcover \$60

reviewed by Lawrence Jarach

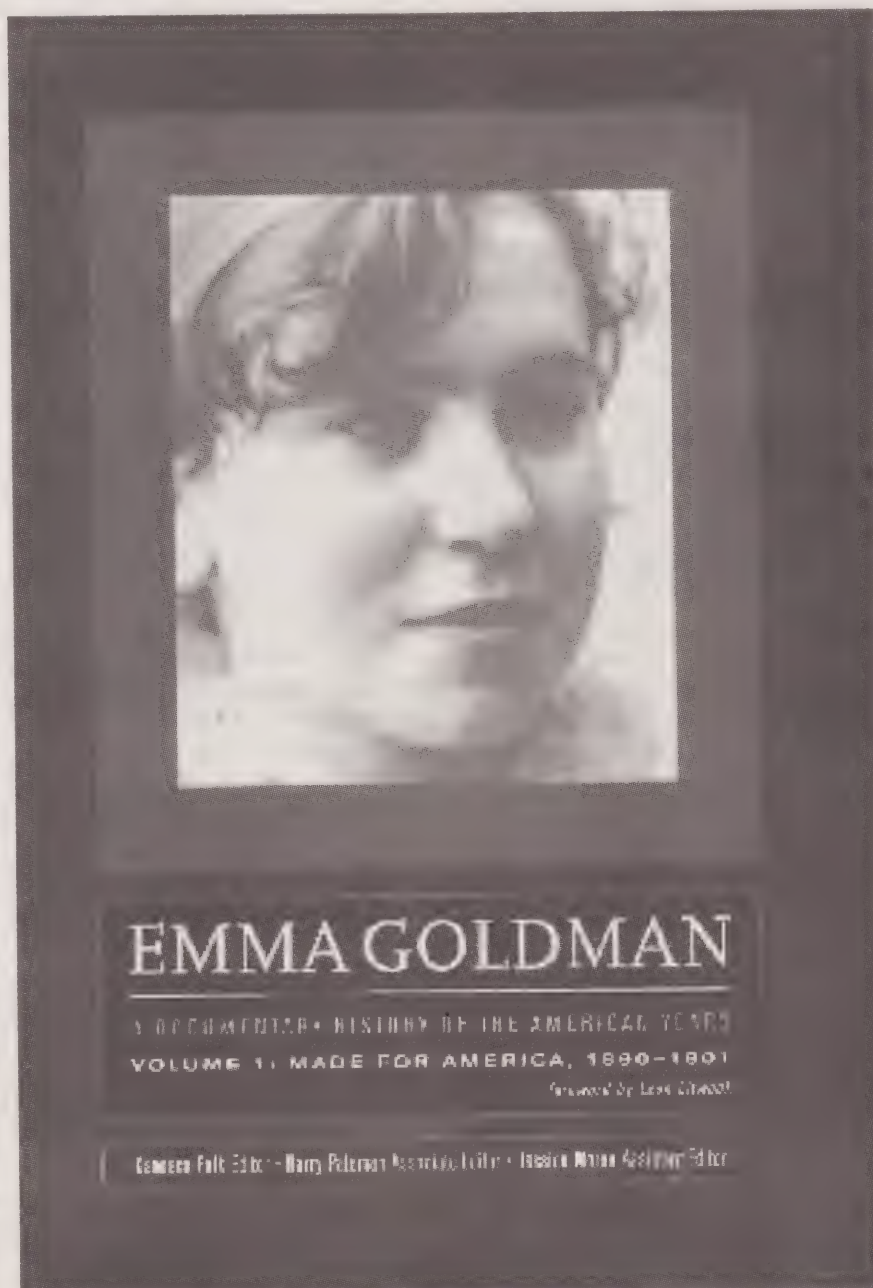
These books are hefty. Really hefty, both in actual weight (close to four pounds each) and the sheer amount of information contained in them. Private letters to and from Emma; reprints of articles in German and Italian as well as English; even government, police, and private detective reports make up the contents of this very ambitious series from the Emma Goldman Papers Project at the University of California at Berkeley. There are lists of publications, projects, and important individuals as separate appendices, as well as a fairly detailed chronology for the years covered in each respective volume. These lists situate the contents inside a detailed context, making them almost as comprehensible for contemporary readers as they were when first published. The care and devotion dedicated to this project are evident in abundance; for all that the editors deserve our thanks.

That being said, there are, of course, some tensions internal to this endeavor, both as an archive and as a publishing project. It is based at an academic institution and so the project must be realistic about its access to continual sources of funding and the use of the University's facilities at

the very least. Another problem with this academic affiliation is that most actual existing anarchists—those who might be most interested in having easy access to such important primary source material, both for historical curiosity as well as for inspiration from our own past—are not part of the Academy. A corollary issue is that of the prohibitive cost; almost no anarchist I know who might be interested in reading these volumes would be able to afford them (al-

though that's not necessarily the responsibility of the editors). Perhaps the biggest problem, however, is that the Papers Project Director is not an anarchist, nor is she particularly supportive of present-day anarchists who aren't part of the academic world.

Each volume begins with a long introduction by Falk, placing the documents in a broader socio-political context; but because of Falk's lack of sympathy for anarchist ideas, some of her comments are puzzling. Take



this for example:

The strength of her character dwarfed her frailties—of intermittent self-righteousness, aggrandizement of her cause over all others, biting sectarianism against other, less purist factions of the radical movement. Her characteristic confluences of personal loyalty with political principle, and her surreptitious internal battle between the sometimes diametrical pulls of emotion and reason, account, in part, for the apparent inconsistencies in her political arguments. Friendship and emotional intimacy were critical factors for developing the

MOST RADICAL MOVEMENT TYPES, BOTH A HUNDRED YEARS AGO AS WELL AS TODAY, SEE THE STATE (AND LAWS) AS A TOOL THAT CAN BE MOLDED AND USED FOR SOME KIND OF SOCIAL BENEFIT. ANARCHISTS DO NOT.

trust and cooperation necessary for building a movement and a social structure consistent with anarchist ideals... Above all, Goldman strove to be a person of principle and consistency. (Volume One, p. 83)

Falk doesn't understand the contradictions evident even within this one paragraph. Principle and consistency pull against compromise and politics-as-usual. To a person like Falk, who doesn't share anarchist visions, goal, and ideas, such a steadfast commitment to principle and consistency might indeed look like self-righteousness. It's not a new allegation hurled at those anarchists who think, who know some history, who

are confident in the validity of their theories and ideas, who are willing to share those analyses, and who are impatient with what I call the politics of the possible.

What were these other "factions of the radical movement"? Social democrats? Suffragists? Single-taxers? None of them shared a vision of an anti-state future. Someone might want to remind Falk that anarchism is a philosophy that refuses institutionalized power and especially its coagulation in the form of the modern nation-state. Giving Falk the benefit of the doubt that anarchism even has a role to play in "the radical movement," it might also be prudent to remind her that it continues to be a minority perspective within it; most "radical movement" types, both a hundred years ago as well as today, see the state (and laws—see below) as a tool that can be molded and used for some kind of social benefit. Anarchists do not. This is the line of principle and consistency that Goldman never crossed, much to her credit. It is a shame that other anarchists of those years, as well as contemporarily, cross it any time

it suits their particular agendas. The pressure to do so comes mostly from those others in "the radical movement." To a person who brooks this kind of unthinking inconsistency (to be diplomatic) or outright betrayal of the most basic anarchist principle (to be blunt), a staunch refusal to engage in the mental and written contortions in order to justify it may indeed come across as "purism." Others of us, however, take it for granted as a starting point.

More evidence of a lack of understanding and sympathy for anarchist ideas:

Somewhat insensitively, she scorned the tactics of some of the trade union organizations,

ignoring the movement's sacrifices and victories, by discounting its attempt to solidify its demands into law—"Get a few more pennies for your labor, that is far from bringing around the millennium, as long as there is somebody to direct you to work, even four hours a day or even four minutes a day. (Volume 2, p. 57)

Falk has clearly missed another basic anarchist tenet concerning the uselessness of legislation, and at the same time she ignores the consistent anarchist critique of organized labor. To "solidify" demands into law makes it seem that Falk expects Goldman to have been some kind of lobbyist for labor rather than someone agitating for the self-liberation of laborers. The definition of direct action is that which takes place outside the legislative realm; nobody would dispute that Goldman dedicated her life to direct action. The pertinent quote from Goldman in the above excerpt make perfect sense if you understand that pro-capitalist unions (and with the notable exception of the IWW, all unions in the United States have been and are pro-capitalist) function as the managers of labor rather than as its liberators. Even the most pro-union anarchists understand that union tactics, their bureaucrats—indeed their entire organizational setup—must be altered radically if they are to perform even the most perfunctory defensive services for their rank and file membership. And that of course leaves aside the arguments and criticisms of anarchists who have been skeptical or dismissive of the possible benefits to be gained through labor unions.

This compilation of the stacks of public and private documents concerning or by Goldman have put her life under the kind of intense scrutiny that no other anarchist has ever had to deal with. Recognizing this microscopic detailing of Goldman's life makes the allegation of the

above-mentioned "frailties" unconvincing, even on the surface. Falk seemingly understands at least part of that when she introduces the second volume by saying that the documents published in it "suggest the existence of dimensions too dangerous to fully commit to writing in Goldman's lifetime, the hidden side of her public political world" (1). This brings up another problem with the whole project, namely, how much justice does it do to a person's legacy to publish private letters the writer of which never intended to have made public? But of course to ask such an indelicate question would be to question the reasons for the project to exist in the first place.

Free the Animals: The Story of the Animal Liberation Front - Ingrid Newkirk (Lantern Books, New York, 2000) 372 pages, paper \$18.95
reviewed by LD Hobson

An engaging and personalized history of the creation of the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) in the US, *Free the Animals* articulates the ALF's philosophy and tactics, and documents very inspiring real-life liberations, sabotages, and campaigns. Reading this book is an intellectual, ethical, and emotional challenge from beginning to end.

The story follows "Valerie" from her career as a cop to creator of the ALF in the US in a very human progression. Fears, tactics, skills, how the ALF plans and prepares for actions, how they gather people and train themselves, and of course how they carry out their missions with rousing success are all described down to the last hairpin needed for emergency lock picking.

There is an ironic quality of self exploitation required in ALF liberations, and all clandestine pursuits to expose abuses, for that matter. The book details some of the personal and emotional complexities in the



life of an animal liberator: keeping secrets from those you love, being hours late returning from an action, sweat-inducing run-ins with authority, loss of sleep, dealing with random threatening bystanders, etc.

There are a few pictures near the center of the book, which give faces to some of the animals involved in some of the missions. "Human beings see oppression vividly when they're the victims. Otherwise they victimize blindly and without thought." (p.180) The predicaments of the animals are horrific and they are described in detail. No perpetrator is left out: animal "owners," the military, hunters and scientists. The pseudo-scientists that form the white-smocked wall of silence are vividly illustrated as the manipulative conniving gangsters that they are; people who pull the emotional strings of the public by dangling hopes of breakthrough miracle cures for suffering loved ones.

I have only one real complaint about the book and I refuse to spend more than two sentences on it. 1. I hate the introduction by Chrissie Hynde; it is poorly written and philosophically doesn't fit with the book, in fact, it reads as antithetical to the

ALF's philosophy: "I believe that every creature in the animal kingdom is in our dominion..."

2. Yuck.

In a nutshell: if you've been feeling like things aren't so bad lately, that reality tv is more interesting than your life, or if you are having a hard time getting in touch with your rage, this book can help.

This book is not for the faint of heart, but rather for those with large-hearts that can take a real beating. Pun intended.

Full Spectrum Disorder: The Military in the New American Century - Stan Goff (Soft Skull Press, Brooklyn, 2003) 203 pages, paper \$12.95
reviewed by John Burnett

Stan Goff covers a large sweep of subjects succinctly in this book. He does this best, with decent documentation, where he has direct experience: war in the third world. Having been in the US Special Forces for 22 years, Goff is able to get across some sense of what waging irregular, asymmetrical war requires. In specific areas he comes to anarchistic conclusions, but can't bring them together in an overall approach, due to his adherence to Maoist ideology.

Goff discusses the inherent entropy of complex, centralized systems, and cites military theorist John Boyd.

Reality is non-linear and dynamic...What we need to comprehend strategically is not what is under the chaos, but that the chaos is the reality, which we have to make into an ally... Boyd's theory claims that the key to success in conflict is to operate inside the opponent's decision cycle... That is accomplished by maintaining the initiative through audacious, often uncoordinated rapid actions, until the

adversary is overwhelmed by the "mismatches" between perception and reality. These mismatches are not the result of your 'plan.' They are an outcome of your agility... This type of agility can only be achieved in a decentralized milieu, and the bureaucratic character of the US military leviathan can't handle that... One of the qualities that seems to define so many so-called progressives is their utter lack of aggression and their constant moral hand-wringing... They only know how to mobilize fear that demoralizes people, instead of mobilizing rage that drives through fear and seizes the initiative (154-157).

Goff describes how death-squad terror was used to depopulate pro-Zapatista areas, and the Zapatistas' unwillingness to undertake what a real guerrilla war requires.

Support for the Zapatistas has been so broad precisely because the EZLN has limited its objectives and avoided combat. Liberals and many anarchists are down with that. For entirely different reasons, each of these constituencies opposes any contest for state power. This is lethal when it is the state that is bent on your extermination.(40)

To Goff's credit, he says some anarchists. During the strategic offensive stage of class war, true anarchism will contest state power in order to destroy it. Anarchism (de facto or explicit) is the natural predisposition of free working people. When we begin thinking about power on our own, we want it directly in our hands. Goff has some inkling of this, at least in regard to developing theory.

Nothing so contributes to the reproduction of class in our society, aside from property relations, as the institutionally enforced di-

vision of labor. It dissects knowledge into academic ghettos, and it attempts to freeze working class people out of the intelligentsia altogether.(166)

Ironically, the founding document of Leninism, *What Is To Be Done* (1902), states that we proles can never advance beyond narrow trade union consciousness on our own. We must be led by intellectuals implanted from outside the working class—the professional revolutionaries, organized into a centralized apparatus. Think for a minute—would anyone on the Left tolerate the analogous idea that people of color must be led by implanted whites? And *What Is To Be Done* is a far better guide to actual Leninist practice than is the quasi-anarchist *State and Revolution* (1917). Goff's attraction to Leninism may be an elitist holdover from his years in the Special Forces. He ends the book with a discussion of fossil fuels, entropy, and visions of industrial collapse that you might find in *Green Anarchy*. He does not include any practical overview of how we can deal with these things, and assumes that collapse will be fast and apocalyptic, an assumption that is debatable but a topic for another discussion.

**Love Songs - Crass (Pomona Books, West Yorkshire, 2004)
260 pages, paper, \$17.95
reviewed by Aragorn!**

Like many anarchists my age my initial exposure to radical politics was through punk rock. As a young person I was not inspired as much by the articulate political messages of the anarcho-punk scene. This was likely because I found English punk to be very grating aurally. Instead I gravitated towards a message of American working class thuggery whose radicalism was limited to being different than the mediocrity I lived in, but not too different.

Really, it wasn't until I was much older, and an anarchist, that I was able

love songs CRASS



to revisit bands like Crass. It's a shame too because there was a lot that I ended up missing that could have saved me from idiotic decisions. It was not their focus on the 'nuclear war' family of problems that differentiated Crass from other peace-punk bands (they all took a very similar line that they didn't want to die in one) but their view on the behavior of themselves and their friends. Their tongue may have wagged towards working stiff and upstanding citizens but it cut every one of us who still carried the baggage of our upbringings.

You see there's lots of chances in this land of hope and glory, If you're a man,
But try and make your own rules, that's a different story.
If you're a man, you'd better act like one, develop your muscles, use your prick like a gun, fuck anything that moves, but never pay the price.
Steal, fuck, slaughter, that's their advice...
Keep your myth of manhood, it's been going on too long, a history of slaughter is the proof that it is wrong...

Pomona Books produces books that look good on shelves. *Love Songs*

will look great there, or on your coffee table. This is not a middle finger in your face from the bloodied front lines against Capital and the crushing authoritarianism that is Ronnie and Maggie's legacy. This is a book crafted by artists and craftspeople. I am now of an age, and reflect on punk rock in such a way, that reading texts about sacrilege, anarchy and hopelessness doesn't seem absurd. But it should. It's just that you can only see so many people roll around in razor blades, piss on themselves, and get spit on before you'd just rather not be in the room with it. It isn't what it thinks it is and nothing else is either.

In this time when there couldn't be a greater need for rebel songs about love and revolution the best we get is reaction and light Maoism. Crass just reached as far as rock and roll could reach and still came up empty. Their emptiness is beautiful even if I can't stand to listen to it. At least I can read it and hope.

Can you hear me this windy night?
Do you hear me about the tearing
of the trees?
You are not listening this night, yet
I shall speak just the same.
By no chance will you hear; the
wind carries my voice above and
beyond.

An Ordinary Person's Guide to Empire - Arundhati Roy
(South End Press, Cambridge 2004) 168 pages.
paper \$12
reviewed by Lawrence Jarach

I first heard Ms. Roy on the radio. I was sharing a taxi with my mother on the way to some important event, and the driver had his radio tuned to KPFA (the Bay Area Pacifica station). My mother was enraptured; she didn't want to get out of the cab. But we had that important event to attend, so she had to be content with a couple of Roy's earlier collections of essays and speeches.

Prize-winning author Roy is one of the darlings of what is called "the anti-globalization movement." She is a featured speaker at many anti-globalization events, and shares the honor of being considered a leader with such notables as Naomi Klein, Medea Benjamin, and a host of others. This latest is a collection of the texts of six speeches delivered between March, 2003 and April, 2004, covering such topics as state politics in India, the Iraq war, racism, and of course globalization. As readers might expect from a half-dozen speeches presented within 12 months, there are more than a few moments of repetition; that isn't the worst that can be said.

I hadn't really paid much attention to her before—any more than I pay to the other spokesmodels of contemporary responsible political possibilities. After reading this anthology, my blissful ignorance of what Roy says and what she appears to represent is no longer possible. I read all these essays, even after it became painful; I really want articulate, smart, and quotable people to present contemporary political issues in a way that is oppositional and defiant. Roy, at least judging from this collection, seems utterly incapable of that. Her analysis of leadership and power is amazingly shallow, as readers can glean from the following:

From Cancún we learned the importance of globalizing resistance.

No individual nation can stand up to the project of corporate globalization on its own. Time and again we have seen that when it comes to the neo-liberal project, the heroes of our times are suddenly diminished. Extraordinary, charismatic men, giants in the opposition, when they seize state power and become heads of state, they be-

ROY IS ALSO CORRECT THAT RADICAL CHANGE CAN'T BE NEGOTIATED BY GOVERNMENTS, BUT THE LESSON SHE TAKES FROM THAT BRIEF MOMENT OF CLARITY IS OBVIOUSLY NOT THE ANARCHIST LESSON OF ABOLISHING GOVERNMENT.

come powerless on the global stage. I'm thinking here of President Lula of Brazil. Lula was the hero of the World Social Forum last year. This year he's busy implementing IMF guidelines, reducing pension benefits, and purging the radicals from the Workers' Party. I'm thinking also of ex-president of South Africa Nelson Mandela. He instituted a program of privatization and structural adjustment, leaving millions of people homeless, jobless, and without water and electricity.

Why does this happen? There's little point in beating our breasts and feeling betrayed. Lula and Mandela are, by any reckoning, magnificent men. But the moment they cross the floor from the opposition into government they become hostage to a spectrum of threats—most malevolent among them the threat of capital flight, which can destroy any government overnight. To imagine that a leader's personal charisma and a resume of struggle will dent the corporate cartel is to have no understanding of how capitalism works, or for that matter how power works. Radical change will not be negotiated by governments; it can only be enforced by people. (90-91)

Should readers forget that even in the centuries leading up to the cur-

rent global regime of neo-liberalism, no leader who went from some vague so-called opposition into a position of government leadership was immune from the same slide into pragmatic statecraft? Should readers forget how Lenin went from being the author of *State and Revolution* (supposedly his most anarchic pamphlet) to the author of *Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?* within a year? From being the proponent of arming the masses, to becoming the slaughterer of Kronstadt rebels? There was no IMF or World Bank then, no neo-liberal globalization policy to be implemented in 1918 or 1921. The consolidation of state power (whether enforced by the threat of capital flight, revocation of loans from the IMF and/or World Bank, or outright military invasion) is an end in itself to authoritarians of all stripes; the spokespersons from Lula's Workers' Party and Mandela's African National Congress had stopped all talk of "revolution" years before they became electorally viable. The smashing and purging of the "radicals" in Lula's party, or the "fundis" in the German Greens—or for that matter, any "ultras" within any supposedly radical political party that manages to attain even a shred of state power—is a constant, just like 32 feet per second. Does Roy really expect readers to believe that Lula and Mandela—unlike every other politician in the world, historically and currently—had never entertained the idea that they might have to shift their intended policies once they got into power?

She is right, of course, that people like her shouldn't feel betrayed; they get what they deserve for putting any faith in leaders in the first place. She is also correct that radical change can't be negotiated by governments, but the lesson she takes from that brief moment of clarity is obviously not the anarchist lesson of abolishing government.

Her hatred of anarchist ideas is in-

dedicated in a different speech. Discussing hospitals, schools, and museums in Baghdad being looted by a previously sanction-ridden and now unrestrained population in search of any and all usable resources, Roy muses:

TV commentators, army and government spokespersons portrayed it as a 'liberated people' venting their rage at a despotic regime. US Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld said: '[I]t's untidy... [F]reedom's untidy. And free people are free to make mistakes and commit crimes and do bad things.' Did anybody know that Donald Rumsfeld was an anarchist? (49)

Did anybody know that Arundhati Roy would repeat some of the most virulent anti-anarchist prejudices from the last 150 years? While this statement is certainly meant with a great deal of sarcasm (and points out Rummy's tendency toward self-parody), it remains clear that Roy is as hostile to Rummy as she is to anarchism from her uses of "anarchy" to describe pre-Taliban Afghanistan and post-Hussein Iraq. For Roy, then, anarchism really means crime and "bad things." I suppose it shouldn't come as much of a surprise; recognizing that injustices exist is still a long way from accepting the necessity for a revolutionary anti-statist solution. Regardless, such willful sectarianism on the part of someone who's supposed to be a spokesperson for a broad-based so-called democratic oppositional movement feels like much more than a simple slap in the face. After all, like the other big names in the "anti-globalization movement," she mostly has black bloc anarchists to thank for being put on the map of mainstream people's consciousness.

But I feel no more betrayed by Roy's anti-anarchist prejudices than she does by the craven capitulations of her chosen great men. In order to

betray something or someone, you must have previously declared or acted as if you were actually in favor of that idea or person. It was clear that Roy wasn't favorably disposed toward anarchism in the parts of the speech I heard on the radio, and it's even clearer now that I've read the texts of six of her recent talks. What I hadn't expected was the nastiness she reserves for radicals who challenge the sanctity of corporate property. Like plenty of other leading oppositionists, she wallows in feel-good pseudo-solutions that depend on legality, reformism, and ultimately, incoherence. It's no wonder that the forces of globalization (or Empire, or neo-liberalism, or whatever you want to call it) can smugly dismiss the "anti-globalization movement"; the leaders and spokespersons continue with superficial and simplistic analyses of power and capital that offer no real challenges.

On the Justice of Roosting Chickens - Ward Churchill (AK Press, Oakland, 2003) 310 pages, paper \$15.95

reviewed by Aragorn!

What a time to be reviewing this book! If you haven't been paying attention, this week in early February, 2005, was when the mainstream press finally got a hold of the title essay of this book that has been circulating (albeit in a modified form) since just a few weeks after the events of September 11th 2001. You know you have made the big time when Ann Coulter and the *Wall Street Journal* have you in their sights. As of this writing all that it appears that Ward has had to suffer has been to step down as the department chair of the Ethnic Studies department and release a statement explaining his behavior. More on that in a bit.

This review is going to be a bit of a break from past commentary in

Anarchy about Ward Churchill. In the summer 1992 issue of the magazine, "Deconstructing the Columbus Myth" by Churchill was reprinted in these pages. In response, through a series of misunderstandings, loose (and unforgivable) language, and a grown-man-pissing-match the letters section continued to resonate with thoughts on, and by, Ward Churchill. This went on for almost six years!

I was not involved in the magazine during that time and can safely wish a pox on all the houses involved in the particulars of that fight. I have been, on the other hand, deeply influenced by all of the writers who were involved. Especially, and what is at point here, my political pedigree is as informed by an indigenous perspective as it is by anarchism. Ward Churchill, in particular his book *Marxism and the Native Americans*, and his critical books on mass media, have been instrumental in formulating a politic out of my cultural heritage.

Another, much deeper and broader, conflict that Ward was involved in during the 1980s involved the remnants of the American Indian Movement (AIM). Like the rest of the new left, AIM was largely destroyed from without and within during the 1970s. In the mid-eighties what was left split in half, one half with the Central Council (Led by the Bellecourt clan based in Minneapolis) the other side being loosely connected with the Colorado AIM chapter (Russell Means being the best known but Ward also being a member). Ostensibly this fissure started because of the Sandinista policies towards indigenous people within Nicaragua but this barely scratched the surface. In reality there was no center of gravity within AIM, there were clans with agendas. Many of these clans lived within the walls of the forts and most lived without. Both groups looked down their noses at the other. Both groups were entirely justified in do-

ing so based on the logic of their perspective. Is AIM more appropriate as an organization that works with the government helping native people through job programs and Cop Watch-type programs, or as a movement of native people against governments whose primary weapons are media savvy and intelligence?

I have loose family connections with the Bellecourts as we are all Algonquin people and urbanized woodlands people. I also have a personal connection to Churchill in that I am both a light-skinned and bi-cultural native person as he is. This is only worth mentioning as a demonstration of both how individuals can be torn apart by political positioning and posturing and just how complicated conflicts within 'a milieu' can be. The Bellecourt faction represents the barely radical edge of accepting government help to solve problems that the government created. The Colorado AIM faction represents style over substance. Any group that includes Russell Means as a member has an awful lot of explaining to do. Suffice it to say, the whole thing is complicated and Churchill was right in the middle of it.

Moving past his conflicts with AIM, through his conflicts with *Anarchy*, we have a tenured professor who is still involved in local organizing (he just had charges dropped in regards to his attempt to stop the Columbus Day march from happening in Denver in 2004) who has established quite friendly relationships with elements of the anarchist scene and is considered one of the leading lights of the left (even if he himself rejects the term). If there would have been expectations about Churchill's comments on 9-11 they would have been high. Instead he dropped them on the



world without an introduction.

The points of the principal essay that the media is hammering on are contained in these paragraphs.

As to those in the World Trade Center... Well, really. Let's get a grip here, shall we? True enough, they were civilians of a sort. But innocent? Gimme a break. They formed a technocratic corps at the very heart of America's global financial empire, the "mighty engine of profit" to which the military dimension of us policy has always been enslaved and they did so both willingly and knowingly. Recourse to "ignorance," a derivative after all of the word "ignore," counts as less than an excuse among this relatively well-educated elite.

To the extent that any of them were unaware of the costs and consequences to others of what they were involved in and in many cases excelling at it was because of their absolute refusal to see. More likely, it was be-

cause they were too busy braying, incessantly and self-importantly, into their cell phones, arranging power lunches and stock transactions, each of which translated, conveniently out of sight, mind and smelling distance, into the starved and rotting flesh of infants. If there was a better, more effective, or in fact any other way of visiting some penalty befitting their participation upon the little Eichmanns inhabiting the sterile sanctuary of the twin towers, I'd really be interested in hearing about it. The men who flew the missions against the WTC and Pentagon were not "cowards." That distinction properly belongs to the "firm-jawed lads" who delighted in flying stealth aircraft through the undefended airspace of Baghdad, dropping payload after payload of bombs on anyone unfortunate enough to be below, including tens of thousands of genuinely innocent civilians, while themselves incurring all the risk one might expect during a visit to the local video arcade.

THE 21ST CENTURY TRULY GOT STARTED THAT AUTUMN MORNING AND IT'S A SHAME THAT ANARCHISTS ARE STILL DEALING WITH LEFTIST ANALYSIS OF THE EVENT INSTEAD OF PROVIDING MORE OF THEIR OWN.

These points are hard to argue with if you do not believe in the essential correctness of American domination of the planet. But the media does what it does and as any academic should know, social roles will be replicated. This is the logic of our world.

If Churchill has done himself a disservice here it is that he has actually done a public *mea culpa* at all. He has already gone on talk shows, issued press releases and generally participated in the process that he would otherwise damn eloquently. Possibly this has all been done as a necessity for Churchill to keep his teaching position. But how Churchill has chosen to defend himself is particularly ironic.

-The gross distortions of what I actually said can only be viewed as an attempt to distract the public from the real issues at hand and to further stifle freedom of speech and academic debate in this country.

-I have never said that people "should" engage in armed attacks on the United States, but that such attacks are a natural and unavoidable consequence of unlawful US policy. As Martin Luther King, quoting Robert F. Kennedy, said, "Those who make peaceful change impossible make violent change inevitable."

-The bottom line of my argument is that the best and perhaps only way to prevent 9-1-1-style attacks on the US is for American citizens to compel their government to comply with the rule of law.

This is the author of *Pacifism as Pathology* quoting fucking Martin Luther King to make his

point. Give me a break! I may understand why someone would do this, but I don't particularly have respect for it.

As for the rest of the book (which I imagine is going to do very well for AK now), it's mostly filler. There are

two additional 'pieces' after "On the Justice" but neither one is an essay. The first is a 45-page accounting of American military adventures along with the ideological justification for each action. The second is over two hundred pages of examples of American illegality just since World War II. While these articles may be great for arguing with your uncle over the dinner table they are just the excruciating demonstration of what we already know. I just wish Churchill would have given his grad students the credit they so richly deserve for putting these together.

This essay (and supporting book) is not Churchill's most important writing. Arguably that honor would be either his COINTELPRO or his indigenous work. It is however, legalism aside, the most articulate analysis the left (as a whole) has provided of the event. The 21st century truly got started that autumn morning and it's a shame that anarchists are still dealing with leftist analysis of the event instead of providing more of their own. Churchill may be the best that the academic left has to offer but he is, at root, not an anarchist. He cares too much about legalism, the American system, and his job to make the kind of cognitive break with this world that anarchists strive for and that the future insists on.

Panegyric Volumes 1 & 2 - Guy Debord (Verso, New York, 2004) 182 pages, hardcover \$25

reviewed by Aragorn!

As with every other time we have seen Guy's name on the cover of a new book in the past decade we feel a tingle of apprehension at the delivery of this newest title. Verso has produced an especially nice looking hardcover book of Guy's neglected autobiographical text here. While acknowledging that Debord's work should be presented in this high qual-

ity manner we still reel at the fact that the target audience for this title is decidedly not us.

Unbeknownst to this reviewer Guy had created several more volumes to his autobiographical tale, the second of which is collected with the first in this edition. Sadly there will never be a volume 3 to *Panegyric* as it was destroyed upon Debord's death at his request.

Volume 1 was published in English in a perfect bound paper cover version in 1991 (also by Verso). It tells Guy's story in terse prose. It contains a few classic passages that in this past decade have led no small number of young people astray.

Among the small number of things that I have liked and known how to do well, what I have assuredly known how to do best is drink. Even though I have read a lot, I have drunk even more. I have written much less than most people who write; but I have drunk much more than most people who drink.

What is exciting about the first Volume is how it demonstrates the consequences of Debord's choices. He writes like an old man. Slowly, and without a wrong step, reaching the conclusions he would have tossed off in an aphorism, or ten, a few decades before. He no longer writes with a shotgun but with a lathe, shaving off misconceptions with each reference and admonition.

...I saw the peaceful part of my youth come to an end; and I now had nothing left except the obligation to pursue all my tastes without restraint, though in difficult conditions. I headed first towards that very attractive milieu where an extreme nihilism no longer wanted to know about nor, above all, continue

what had previously been considered the use of life or the arts. This milieu had no trouble recognizing me as one of its own.

Many of us didn't get a hold of volume 1 of *Panegyric* until after November 30th 1994 when Guy placed what appeared to be an exclamation point to his final phrases.

I am at least assured by the preceding, of having been successful in conveying the elements that will suffice to make abundantly clear, so that no sort of mystery or illusion might remain, all that I am. Here the author ends his true history: forgive him his faults.

Volume 2 then, comes as a surprise and is mostly a visual recounting of the story that we already know. It reads more like a series of snapshots (since that is almost exactly what it is) than the methodical approach Debord would take with most subject matter.

Many of the images have been seen before. The stylish cigarette pose of Alice Debord (nee Becker-Ho) is a Situationist staple. Most of the images of the auto-destruction of Guy have been around. What is new with *Panegyric 2* is the placement, demonstration of priority and setting of stage. While *Panegyric 1* stills portrays Debord as a radical thinker first and human being distant second, volume 2 brings his humanity into focus. It's hard not to see a very different Guy when he is playing his board game with his wife in the kitchen nook, or the facsimiles of topographical maps of locations that he really liked.

Volume 2 is a must have for collectors of all Situationist ephemera but does not add much to the mainline of Guy's thought and practice. He will be best known for *Society of the Spectacle*, not for a board game named after a blind variation of chess. He

will live in the shadow of his practice of purge and historical rewrite, not his love of the south of Spain. This is a book you scan when you are at someone's house who has a copy, not a title you must have on your bookshelf unless you are showing it to your dissertation committee.

Raids on Human Consciousness: Writing, Anarchism and Violence - Arthur Redding (University of South Carolina Press, Columbia, 1998) 275 pages.

\$18.95, paper

reviewed by Dot Matrix

Violence is of particular fascination to anarchists because of the inherent questions of coercion and end-versus-means. (Maybe that's just me?) But discussions of violence tend to be constrained by moralistic perspectives (even when morality is explicitly rejected), so that even the most interesting of these conversations have a "chasing-the-tail" feel to them. Many anarchists are still at the "it's not violence if it's property destruction" level of this conversation, which is at least a start down a more interesting road. If you're ready to move further down that road, this book will help. *Raids* is an anarchist-sympathetic, post-left-friendly, nihilist-tending, interdisciplinary study of violence that focuses particularly on violence as a subjective process: since the impact of violence on externals is irrefutably unpredictable and non-linear, studying the impact on its perpetrators or proponents can be more interesting than trying to force violence into a cause-and-effect straitjacket.

Redding starts by identifying two complementary understandings of violence—the "exceptionalist" or "irrationalist" idea that violence is deviant (Freud, Fromm), and the "systemic" idea of violence as an inherent part of social structures (Nietzsche, Marx). From there he moves on to draw from philosophy, political theory, literary criticism, semiotics,

and psychology—among other fields—in discussions of violence in some of its myriad functions.

On violence as commitment:

Direct action becomes a kind of postmodern drama, an advertisement or slogan that is materially demonstrated and thereby given added force... The ad becomes a brief, noisy splash of life against a more or less drab backdrop of 'rhetoric.' Our interrogation of the rhetoric of violence, then, needs to consider violence itself in the context of contemporary, consumer rhetoric, albeit in its classic definition, involved in a twofold struggle to consolidate the community of true believers and thereby move people to action.

As epidemic:

Camus's use of the term "plague" to define the transitive nature of rebellion touches on one of the metaphorical constellations governing almost all discussions of political violence: the idea that violence is contagious and that it will spread unchecked, like fire or disease, unless the science and laws of the epidemiologist are brought forth to regulate its activity... It is important to bear in mind that institutional structures of containment will be perpetually frustrated in any efforts to isolate or eliminate the source of the contagion and will, if they are wise, content themselves with manipulating and controlling its flow rather than excising it. Slavery is, generally,

more economically and socially sound than genocide.

As theater:

[Emma] Goldman writes of theater's volatility... 'The social significance of modern drama... is the dynamite that undermines superstition, shakes the social pillars, and prepares men and women for the reconstruction.' The dynamite metaphor is hardly coincidental, and it emphasizes Goldman's faith in a cultural form capable of demolishing ideologies that, if they were institutionally enforced, were incorporated and lived out in the crippled bodies of working men and women. Thus her crusade on behalf of free love. Freedom must

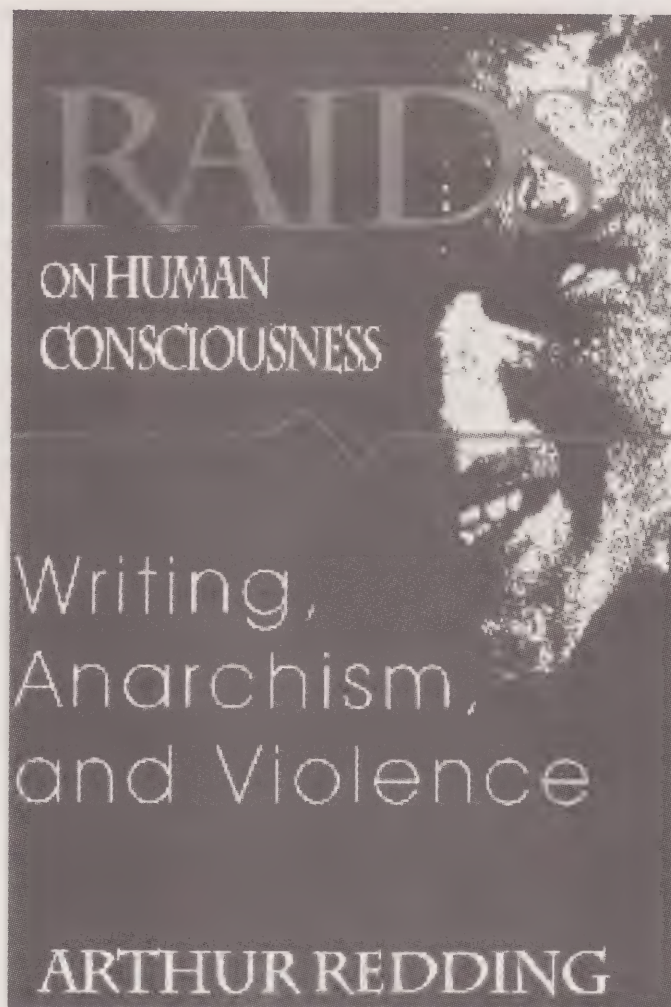
be lived and performed prior to its becoming an articulate concept. The theater of anarchy is likewise drenched in the tension occasioned when the public so violently interpenetrates the private.

As commodity:

According to the leveling dictates of the mass market, "enormity" is no more troubling a product than soap or lampshades. The Holocaust was no more "substantial" than any other commodity, for the logic of a consumer economy demands that a particular product, which is necessarily the most important to the consumer's life today, be easily, readily, and inevitably replaced by a newer model tomorrow."

As related to discussion:

...The 'we' who would engage in debate is precisely exclusionary. Hence the effort by the student movement to delineate the precise ways in which the 'privilege' of the university is grounded in imperialism and endocolonization. Calculation and debate already delimit the circulation of political power—here the academy—and mark a logistic discourse that the fantasy of political violence intends to sweep away. "Reasonable debate" becomes a symbolic token, highly politicized and serving assignable interests, in the now fantasized morality play. Arguments speak power... insisting on a liberal distinction between force and reasonable



discussion, a distinction quite literally 'senseless' to anyone under the stick of discourse, as Fanon has demonstrated.

After defining satire as inherently conservative because it refers back to the system that it mocks (a section in which he misses a shot by not referring to Itchy and Scratchy), he states:

The dramatic staging of perceptual utopias would entail the elaboration of a somatic counterfantasy, a passage through the violent constraints in which we find ourselves, a dream that would allow the other of the fantasy to speak for itself, would recognize the desirability of desiring production on its own terms, as Deleuze seems to, even—and only, perhaps—by forswearing the possibility of our ever understanding them. We have begun to find the possibilities of such a counterfantasy in the anarchist imagination, which, where it is willing to accept its own confusions as a virtue, would involve itself in a violent leap beyond the limits of the satirical.

Redding encourages us to embrace our confusion, and to acknowledge our inability to either predict effects or move in a straight line from cause to result.

While this book is inarguably a step in the direction of taming violence (by understanding it better—a dynamic that Redding himself mentions), and particularly by graduate-level academics (eeek!) it is also a potentially useful kick out of the rut of how we normally think about violence, into a more imaginative landscape.



Republic of Egos: A Social History of the Spanish Civil War
- Michael Seidman (University of Wisconsin Press, Madison 2002) 304 pages, paper \$24.95
reviewed by Lawrence Jarach

According to the press release for this volume, his most recent work on the events in Spain during the civil war and revolution, professor of history Seidman has focused "on anonymous individuals, families, and small groups who fought for their own interests and survival, not necessarily for an abstract cause." "While he doesn't neglect the collective identities of political and religious affiliation, class, and gender," Seidman does downplay especially the political adherence of

the various personalities on whom he focuses. One of the more interesting aspects of this survey is that he compares life at the fronts with the experiences of soldiers of the US Civil War as well as those of the revolutionary army of France. Other comparisons are made with the soldiers in the trenches in the First World War, especially the pervasive moments of "life and let live," which could also be characterized as an informal refusal to fight. What is most surprising about this comparative approach are the commentaries Seidman makes about the data.

Seidman continually points out (using varying sources, both pro-Nationalist and pro-Republican) the deficiencies in provisioning the Popular Army: "Organizational problems, such as the failure of the quartermaster to provide a steady flow of food, weakened

Republican efforts" (88). "Hungry men...quickly become indifferent to the cause and are more likely to go on scavenging missions than to fight the enemy. Almost as many veterans (34%) of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade blamed the situations of demoralization on poor food, clothing, and shelter than on defeats, retreats, and heavy casualties (39%)... Food shortages created unbounded resentment against those, often including officers, that others perceived as better fed" (94). "Republican meals were so repetitious and unappetizing that soldiers frequently refused to eat them when they had the possibility to scavenge in surrounding villages... Veteran Republican soldiers were tipped off that a major offensive was in the offing when meals dramatically improved in quantity or quality"

(96). "The lack of clothes especially troubled new recruits on the Madrid front and elsewhere. The inability to provide them with uniforms created a ragged appearance that weakened military spirit and discipline" (110). "As winter approached, the lack of shoes, clothes, and food once again inspired many flights to the rear or to the enemy" (210). The fact of inadequate provisioning led to rampant looting and pilfering, both at the front and in the rear. "...energies devoted to looting delayed the Republican advance [at Teruel]... When confronted with their questionable behavior, the looters claimed that the quartermaster—whose office had gained a deserved reputation throughout the Republic for corruption—had authorized them to confiscate private property" (160). "From the very first day of operations, the quartermaster completely failed to provide supplies. Material shortages—lack of small arms, artillery, aviation support, and 'all kinds of equipment'—caused flights and unauthorized retreats" (178). "During the [July 1938] offensive approximately sixty-five hundred men were engaged in collecting the harvest instead of digging fortifications" (205).

Seidman believes that a rampant "individualism" (i.e. looking out for oneself to the alleged detriment of the Republic plus a constant indifference toward abstract political causes—the "Egos" of his title) is to blame for the lack of Republican military successes. Perhaps he is confusing cause and effect. Using the same quotations, I could just as easily say—and with some confidence—that the rampant and constant material privations of what were, after all, voluntary militias (at least for the first few critical months) could easily have led to their diminished will to fight. The officials in the rear who were supposed to be safeguarding the social gains made during those same first few critical months, did an extremely poor job of it. The abstract causes (whether lib-

eral republicanism, social democracy, state capitalism, or anarcho-syndicalist self-management) were in conflict and faltering daily, subject to the normal and expected machinations of politicians and other unsavory characters. What is surprising to me is that there weren't more desertions or retreats when news of those shenanigans reached the fronts. Robert Alexander wrote an exhaustive and well-researched account of the majority anarchist presence in the rank and file of what eventually became the Popular Army of the Republic (see my review in *Anarchy* #51); yet even during the Stalinist counter-revolution in Catalunya, anarchist troops were reluctant to abandon the fronts to defend their diminishing gains.

The tradition of anti-militarism among anarchists seems to have been ignored by Seidman. Given the clear imperialist and nationalist objectives of World War I, I have always found the stories of live and let live at the fronts to be a positive sign of lack of patriotism, yet Seidman, quoting no sources, finds it to be the opposite. "In Extremadura, live and let live did not signify an informal agreement that recognized an equal balance of force or a basic commitment to one's country or cause as it had in World War I... the Extremaduran variety of live and let live allowed individuals or small groups of Republican soldiers to avoid danger and save their own skins. Informal agreements to prevent casualties marked a fervent individualistic desire to preserve one's own body and failed to preserve a basic patriotic or ideological commitment" (199, emphasis added). And yet, as any decent study of the Spanish conflict show, the ideologies that became increasingly dominant as the war dragged on were in fact patriotism (evidenced by a refusal to declare the independence of Morocco, a unilateral forced withdrawal of foreign "volunteers") and ideological rigidity, especially the Stalinist variety. If Alexander's study of the relevant statistics is true (and I

believe they are), why would mostly anarchist soldiers want to fight and die for the causes of their historical enemies on the so-called Left? This also leaves aside the very ugly realities of warfare. The parades of volunteer militias in Barcelona and the mobilizations of other urban populations were greeted with the same absurd enthusiasm that greets all other such militarist displays. Nobody seems to want to remember that combatants (as well as civilians) in war are wounded, maimed, and killed. The routine of battle devours the feelings of compassion and kinship, dehumanizing all participants, notwithstanding the occasional moments of recognizing the humanity in the Self as well as the Other. War—even a Good Fight—is still war, with all the corresponding horrors, regardless of any and all abstract causes. By the time the Popular Army was created and imposed on the previous party-based militias, the war had bogged down into the outmoded trench warfare that characterized World War I. The lack of decisive, sustainable victories on the part of the militias and Popular Army certainly had as much to do with shirking as the lack of equipment and food. The best chance of survival in such circumstances is not to fight.

Disregarding repeated orders, threats of punishment and actual arrests, these men frequently fraternized with the enemy. Low-ranking soldiers arranged truces in which each side agreed not to fire on the other. Soldiers who broke the peace would be penalized by having to drink wine in no man's land in full view and close range of both sides (207).

What is surprising about this passage is what it says about the Nationalist soldiers who were also fraternizing; they were a mixture of already serving soldiers and new draftees subject to the kinds of harsh military

discipline abhorred by all (not just anarchist) Spanish anti-militarists. Yet here they were, in the middle of a "crusade," consistently fraternizing with the Satanic-Communist-Masonic enemies of Spain! That is also an encouraging story from an anti-militarist perspective.

While most of Seidman's contentions are cited with the appropriate source material, there are several analyses that are clearly his own. Some are fair enough, but others are difficult to take without pausing for some well-considered questions. Take for example the following:

"...gender tensions divided workers. Certain managers purchased sex by promising their female workers salary raises. Others awarded their mistresses cushy jobs and extra food rations. Less privileged male workers resented the growing biological bargaining power of women" (229).

Significantly, no footnote follows these sentences. While the purchasing of sexual encounters and proffering favors to one's paramours has a long tradition within capitalism (during wars or not), the odd statement is the one about the resentment of male workers toward women. Without source material or appropriate footnotes, readers are forced to conclude that Seidman has his own resentments toward women in a shared workplace. This is certainly unfortunate; it doesn't inspire confidence in the scholarship or objectivity of the rest of his unascrbed statements.



The Uncanny: Experiment in Cyborg Culture - Bruce Grenville, ed. (Vancouver Art Gallery/ Arsenal Pulp Press, Vancouver, 2001) 279 pages, paper \$27.95
reviewed by Rob los Ricos

Upon reflection and re-examination, *The Uncanny* certainly lives up to its name, which is surprising because at first glance, it seemed to be merely a loosely connected collection of essays and reproductions of artwork.

This book is extraordinarily ambiguous in its central message. That does not seem to be the editor's and contributors' intent. The book is about changes in the relationship between human beings and technology, particularly in the post-WWII era, when the concept of the cyborg (cybernetic organism) evolved from sci fi imagin-

ings to the stuff of real science, and further still into everyday mundanity. This mundanity depends on how you define "cyborg."

To think of cyborgs as advanced human/robot hybrids is still a fantasy. However, when one includes the intervention or intrusion of technology into the human body, cyborgs are widespread in our culture. To offer myself as an example, I wear eyeglasses. My ability to function in society is dependent on technological enhancement of my vision. I cannot safely drive a car, for instance, without corrective lenses. Also, my right shoulder is held together by bolts and a steel plate. Steel plates and bolts, surgically implanted into my body, are more commonly associated with machinery. When one considers artificial limbs and hearts and machines that take over the function of organs

— like dialysis machines — cyborg technology can be found in abundance.

The pliability of the cyborg as a concept adds to its uncanniness. *The Uncanny* focuses on how the cyborg has affected people's imaginations, mostly through art. Naturally, this means there are several essays about the portrayal of the cyborg in Japanese art, the way Japanese culture interacts with technology and how the West fetishizes Japanese culture — all of which contributes to the ambience of the book.

There are several reprints in the book, including an excerpt from William Gibson's *Neuromancer*, Sigmund Freud's essay "The Uncanny" and Donna Haraway's *A Manifesto for Cyborgs*. There is also a case study from a

borgs. There is also a case study from a psychological journal about a boy who imagined himself to be a machine.

These last three essays are the ones that give the book its possibly unintended theme.

Freud's essay absolutely sets the tone for this book. In it, the renowned psychoanalyst discusses emotional distress and psychosis provoked by encounters of otherwise reasonable people with something uncanny.

"Uncanny" is a sort of make-do translation of the German word *heimlich* which originally meant familiar, safe, homey, domestic, comfortable. It also has more sinister connotations, as this feeling of familiarity becomes super-familiarity, as in secretiveness, hidden knowledge, skeletons in the closet, things best not mentioned. Over time, this darker aspect to the idea of *heimlich* has become as common a use of the word as the original one. Since the word *heimlich* has come to mean two contradictory things, Freud uses the word *unheimlich*.

Still, this is a difficult phenomena to describe. Uncanniness has to do with feelings of dread caused by encountering something seemingly familiar in alien circumstances. Or by encountering something alien in an otherwise familiar setting. To truly be uncanny, though, the feelings of dread must be accompanied by fascination, even to the point of obsession. Perhaps the most readily accessible example is that of a ventriloquist's dummy. The dummy is usually a small, humanesque doll, with a head that is animated by the ventriloquist's hand. Of course, the distinguishing characteristic of the performance is that the dummy is given a voice and a personality supposedly distinct from the ventriloquist's. The relationship between the dummy and the puppet master can take uncanniness to a profound level, as depicted by numerous motion pictures.

Automatons are an example of uncanniness provided by Bruce Grenville,

the editor. In the 18th and 19th centuries, there was a lot of propaganda celebrating Isaac Newton's concept of the mechanical universe. This inspired master craftsmen to create machines that could mimic humans in function and appearance. One such would sit at a desk and when fitted with a pen and provided with paper, would produce exquisitely detailed drawings. In order to move, the automaton would either be hand-cranked or wound up like a clock. Automatons were made to draw, write poetry or play musical instruments. The eerie feeling produced in watching an inanimate object recreate imaginative human behavior were no doubt troubling to industrial workers, whose menial redundant jobs could be easily imagined as being done by machine. In these mechanical toys, factory workers could foresee their own obsolescence.

Later photographers would enhance such feelings of dread. You've probably seen some of these photos, mostly from the early decades of the 20th century. Amid the massive gears, one can spot a diminutive worker, who is performing some menial task in service of machinery. This disturbing progression in the relationship between people and technology would have made an excellent subject of discussion in this book, but the editor only briefly mentions it. The books offers only a rosy view of the future, as people become more machine-like and machines more life-like.

Though Freud does not write about specific, real case histories of uncanny encounters, he uses examples of literature – it is clear he views the confusion of machines for people as insane. However though some of the art presented clearly exhibits alarm at the effects of technology, the contributors mostly see the possibility of interchangeability between humans and machines as natural, desirable and inevitable. Anarchist art historian Allan Antliffe is the only contributor who examines the negative aspects of

technological innovations.

As industrialism gradually becomes the focus of life in western civilization, artisans were displaced by factories, with machinery continuing to develop; each innovation further reducing the role of the workers.

Within this context, individualist anarchism developed as a way for people to allow their desires to direct the course of their lives, not only long-term, but in an immediate sense. This sense of immediacy was an affront to the basic planning necessary for civilization. Personal liberty was also a blasphemy against the work ethic required by a job. It's interesting to note that Egoism developed at the same time that workers were fighting and dying for the eight hour work day, a privilege being revoked these days.

As anarchist egoism seemed to be on the verge of winning the hearts and minds of the west, World War I came along and virtually wiped out the younger generations of workers in France, Germany and Britain, and severely depleted the numbers of young people in other nations.

World War I marks the triumph of technology over people. Cavalry and infantry were no match for machine guns, tanks and airplanes. Whereas before, technology had primarily served to produce and serve people's needs – one of the first industries to be heavily mechanized was textiles, while many early technological innovations had to do with transportation – with WWI, technology had proven itself as an extraordinarily effective dealer of death.

People recoiled in horror, including Vorticists. Though the Vorticist rebellion in art continued for a few years, pessimism over the possibilities for individualism eventually caused the movement to dissipate. Some of the artists went so far as to disassemble their sculptures as a way to portray the widespread appearance of mangled combat veterans across the world.

By the end of WWII technology

had provided the means to wipe out the life that created it. It seems fairly reasonable that some people would wish to surrender to technology, to find some way to survive in a machine age. Other people wished to become machines, such as "Joey, the Mechanical Boy," whose life was so miserable and emotionally painful that he began to imagine himself a machine, and constructed elaborate mechanisms to help feed and move him, as well as to remove body wastes.

Dr. Bruno Bettelheim's account of Joey, Antliff's essay on the Egoists, and Freud's essay are the only wary voices amongst the cheerleading for human/machine hybridization. Freud's examination of the fascination with technology and the dread associated with technology's destructive potential defines a profound uncanniness, one with the capacity to, and history of, producing psychosis.

Even though the editor muses that technology is so omnipresent and essential to civilization that it threatens to destroy any links we have to nature, he claims that the greatest threat is that we are unnaturally attracted to the idea that we could destroy our bodies and have them replaced by their uncanny double. Several of the essayists don't see this as a threat, but as a liberation.

Most blatant in a disgust with life is Donna Haraway's article, "A Manifesto for Cyborgs: Science, Technology and Socialist Feminism in the 1980s," in which she demands the human race give itself over to cyborgization in order to overcome patriarchy and capitalism. Most essays that follow cite Haraway's and echo its sentiment. In every instance, the authors agree that technology designed to replace our human selves will lead us to unbounded freedom. At best, this is just another symptom of the contemporary existential angst caused by technology that provides so much material comfort to consumers, while threatening to subsume us.

This thanatotoxic fantasy can also be seen as an attempt — much like that by Joey, the Mechanical Boy — to protect oneself from a natural and social environment that is too emotionally and sensorially intense and complex for contemporary consumers to be comfortably embedded.

At worst, the thought that universal liberation from capitalism and patriarchy is to be found by transforming oneself into the embodiment of their highest technological achievements is a complete inversion of reality. Such a transformation could only result in capitalism's creation of the ultimate worker: obedient, tireless, programmable. And by creating cyborg workers in feminine form, patriarchy could manufacture its ultimate version of a lover as well. It's a win-win situation for oppression and those who benefit from it.

Anyone who truly desires to break patriarchal capitalism's death grip on our world and selves, should be alarmed that cyborg technology is rapidly approaching possibility. And bio-engineering may well beat factories by first developing programmable, genetically-enhanced human for fun, profit, and exploitation.

The Uncanny details the scientific progression of the concept of cyborgs, beginning with the idea of cybernetics. Norbert Wiener introduced the idea in his 1948 book *Cybernetics, or Control and Communication in the Animal and Machine*. Wiener proposed the development of machines capable of "thought." What he was most concerned with, however, was the ability to "correct" and enhance the human body through technology. Of course, what he wanted to "correct" was unruliness, in order to produce docile, easily controllable workers, with no yearnings for a better life or a fulfilling existence. In short, Wiener wanted to technologically suppress free will.

Cyborgs as actual, real science arrived in 1959, as US scientists attempted to develop a mouse capable of

long-term survival in space, and to later apply this technology to people. They failed in their quest to engineer a rift between people (and other animals) and the biosphere that produced us.

Now, in the 21st century, the development of Artificial Intelligence (AI) is overtaking the cyborg dichotomy. AI may be the holy grail of cybernetics — the long-sought solution to bridging the gap between people and machines. As computers become more powerful and faster, their potential ability to actually "think" (rather than merely compute equations) increases. This increases the possibility that people could link directly into computers and control machines by thought.

This is, in part, the answer to Haraway's dream of transcending human existence (with its pain, confusion and exuberance) for a more stable, predictable, passionless existence; one in which all spiritual, individualistic yearnings have been transcended: The yearning for fulfillment supplanted by a need for regular tune-ups.

In the dawning of the cyborg era, this fascination that people hold for the workings of their own hands has become a new religion.

Religious fervor is found throughout *The Uncanny*. Automaton are referred to as "animal machines." People are talked about as machines with god-given souls. The various authors, in their zeal, fail to recognize that cyborgs would be like automaton — living machines designed and programmed for specific tasks, in the service of their creators and owners.

The inclusion of Antliff's piece on Vorticist Francis Picabia's lithograph "Young American Girl in a State of Nudity," provides the most powerfully witty argument against the narrowing gap between dynamic human beings and the cyborg automaton that patriarchal capitalism wants us to become. The lithograph depicts a solitary spark plug.

Though Freud's and Bettelheim's contributions are a minority opinion

in this collection, their essays point out the only lesson I can draw from this book. The awe-inspiring power that technology has achieved in its growth from producer to death-bringer has driven many people insane. This growth was inevitable within this patriarchal civilization, founded as it was on conquest. The arms race it has nurtured over the centuries required more efficient ways to kill greater numbers of people, to feed and equip its armies, and to control the conquered.

Because machines have actual, measurable value to capitalism, it's no wonder that people — expendable, cheap and easily replaced — would want to relate to machines that threaten to supplant them. But Haraway's declaration that she'd rather be a cyborg than a goddess displays a failure of imagination. Her dualistic vision suggests that there are no other options in being. But there are multitudes. One must look beyond one's delusions to see them.

War Is A Racket - Smedley D. Butler, (Feral House, Los Angeles, 2003) 80 pp. \$9.95 paper.
reviewed by Ben Blue

Smedley D. Butler first arranged for publication of his anti-war classic *War Is A Racket* in 1935, shortly after retiring from 33 years in the US Marine Corps. Feral House has recently released a new edition including two other anti-interventionist screeds by Butler, "Common Sense Neutrality" and "Amendment For Peace"; photographs from the 1932 antiwar book, *The Horror Of It*; and a new introduction by Adam Parfrey. While clearly not an anarchist, Butler remains of interest as a staunch anti-fascist and anti-capitalist. A quote featured on the cover indicates his general attitude: "I spent 33 years in the Marines, most of my time being a high-class muscle man for big busi-

ness, for Wall Street and the bankers. In short I was a racketeer for capitalism." Parfrey's introduction documents Butler's role in foiling a fascist coup sponsored by corporate interests such as Dupont and J.P. Morgan and Co. against FDR in the mid 30s. He concludes that events of the 1960s through the present have reversed Butler's efforts, which few anarchist would deny, then asserts—"Regardless of one's political affiliation, *War Is A Racket* remains an astonishing reminder that America once stood for constitutional principles and not power-enhanced greed mongering." Applied to America, the assertion seems questionable; applied to Brigadier General Smedley Darlington Butler USMC it is not. Butler writes in lean simple prose addressed to the common reader, reminiscent of Alexander Berkman's *ABC of Anarchist Communism*: "War is a racket. It always has been. It is possibly the oldest, easily the most profitable, surely the most vicious. It is the only one international in scope. It is the only one in which the profits are reckoned in dollars and the losses in lives." In five short chapters, averaging four pages each, Butler explains in ordinary language the system by which the owners of capital derive immense profits from the slaughter of millions. Butler doesn't hesitate to name the families and corporations responsible. He bluntly describes the physical and mental devastation inflicted upon the soldiers he visited in a tour of eighteen veterans hospitals. Butler dismisses attempts to dismantle the war racket through disarmament conferences, peace parleys, or resolutions. He asserts that "It can be smashed effectively only by taking the profit out of war."

Admitting afterwards that his scheme may be too optimistic, Butler proposes conscription of capital, industry, and labor prior to conscription of soldiers:

Let the workers in these plants get the same wages—all the

workers, all presidents, all executives, all directors, all managers, all bankers, —yes, and all generals and all admirals and all officers and all politicians and all government office holders —everyone in the nation to be restricted to a total monthly income not to exceed that paid to the soldiers in the trenches!

Butler further proposes a limited plebiscite to determine whether war should be declared, consisting solely of those of military age in physical condition to bear arms. Last, Butler would limit the navy to within 200 miles of the coastline, planes to within 500 miles, and the army to the territorial limits of the nation. In his final chapter, Butler calls for universal disarmament and the dedication of scientific research to the task of developing greater prosperity for all peoples. Peace activists who retain faith in the possibility of liberal reform ought to read Butler's 1937 Amendment For Peace, a modified version of his earlier proposed limits on military extension. It might behoove them to ask, at this late stage in the development of total war, why none of their congressional representatives have ever introduced it for a vote. If America's most decorated soldier insists that adding the Peace Amendment to the Constitution of the United States will make it impossible to have young men sent abroad to fight the wars of others, perhaps the millions of peaceful protesters should make the attempt to put his claim to the test. It might serve as the beginning of a rapid political education in the futility of liberal reform. For that reason alone, give a copy of *War Is A Racket* to a non-anarchist in your life, that they may appreciate its inescapably direct language declaring "To Hell With War!"



Dan Lewis

Anarchy does exchanges with all other anarchist and genuinely radical (anti-state, anti-capitalist) periodicals. We will continue to try to review all such periodicals received in future issues.

ANARCHIST MEDIA REVIEW

Reviews this issue are by Aragorn! [A!], Breezy [B], Dot Matrix [DM], and Lawrence Jarach [LJ]

of primitivism. Idealizing what was would consistently lead to either passive admiration or imitation, but not a radical and destructive confrontation with what is." While this sentiment is agreeable it is also clearly a straw

ANCHORAGE ANARCHY; #4, May 2004 (BadPress, PO Box 230332, Anchorage, AK, 99523-0332) 12 pages, \$1

This zine by Joe Peacott starts out with the daring position that voting for Kerry isn't relevant. Perhaps in Anchorage this is a position that is less understood, or perhaps reading it so many months after the election and all the other writings that take the same position is an unfair way to judge. The article might have had more than a momentary relevance if it had, oh say, taken on the topic of "virtual" politics, and how, even though Kerry was for the war, people voted for the perception of the democrats as anti-war. But it didn't.

The next article is against multiculturalism, and again takes the easy way out, focusing on the extremists – those absurd people who think that a person's culture "dictates the ideas and actions" of that person, although the author makes the equally absurd and extremist point that one can't find out important information about someone by learning about their culture. Will the polarized arguments (almost by definition based on straw men*) never end? This article praises morality, peacefulness and consistency – perhaps nothing more needs to be said.

There are various reprints of cartoons, the worst of which favors children's right to liberation through walt disney. The longest piece in the zine is a reprint of

a Josiah Warren's "Labor for Labor," about an alternative economy based on effort vs. status, and promoting equivalency vs. the false unity of equality. Sure. Okay. [DM]

**A straw man is, in its literal sense, a dummy in the shape of a man created by stuffing straw into clothes or some other container. Straw men have been used as scarecrows, combat-training targets, or effigies to be burned. This led to a long history of metaphoric and rhetorical uses to refer to a person or thing that is weak or ineffective, especially if it was created specifically to be weak. - wikipedia*

BARBARIC THOUGHTS (Venomous Butterfly - 818 SW 3rd Ave., PMB 1237 Portland, OR 97217) 24 pages, no price listed

This pamphlet raised quite a stir when it came out a year ago. It's basically Wolfi Landstreicher taking off the gloves on the primitivist scene and making a bit of a response to some of the ad hominem attacks directed towards him in a couple issues of Green Anarchy. Within the pamphlet he compares something he calls a revolutionary critique of civilization with the primitivist analysis. "...[The] primitivists who openly reject revolution are very few. Nonetheless, I think that they are the ones who most consistently follow out the logic

man, much like the accusations that have been thrown at Wolfi since BT's publication (leftist, Chris Crass-like, etc).

While the specific language is somewhat clumsy (how many times do you have to say revolutionary per page before your audience gets the fucking idea) the ideas are typically crystal clear. Landstreicher states in BT exactly what other anti-civilization folk had been talking about, albeit not publicly, for some time. Primitivism has not only become ideological but by attempting to trademark an anti-civilization perspective its reach has far exceeded its grasp. If you are involved in this discussion this pamphlet is a *must* read. [A!]

BREAK THE CHAINS #19 & 20 (POB 12122 Eugene, OR 97440) 20 pages, \$2

This group started in reaction to seeing friends and members of their community get tossed in prison. There was not a local prisoner support group for the increasing number of Anarchist and Earth Liberation prisoners getting shipped off so Break the Chains was a welcome addition. Initially they raised the bar by both resisting labeling themselves part of the ephemeral ABC (Anarchist Black Cross) and by (at least in the past) supporting explicitly anarchist prisoners. This made sense since the first prisoners that BtC supported were Free and Critter who were

not being supported by the prisoner support community (or ABC) at the time. Since then the politics of BtC have moved away from their anarchist origins and towards supporting 'Political Prisoners, Prisoners of War, and social prisoners' which makes their project less differentiated from the dozens of other groups doing the same sort of work. This edition of their publication has a report-back of their activities that sounds like it is establishing a baseline for writing a grant. It has quite a few pieces of writing from prisoners with varying levels of quality. There is a lengthy report on Free's legal condition. There are report backs from several 'political prisoners'. [A!]

man near-revolution remains entirely unanalyzed by anarchists, leaving that task to the communist tradition. While CV isn't explicit about their political pedigree this piece remains a good introduction to the set of events of the time from a trustworthy source. Within this issue of CV there are also a couple of reprints with a literary flavor: 'A Cosmopolite in a Café' - a view of illusion and localism; an interview with Jean Malaquais - a veteran of the Spanish Civil war (from a Bordigist faction), a review of Jude the Obscure, and 'For Reactionaries Only' which examines judgment and Progress. This continues to be a worthy, unexpected, and non-linear read. [A!]

"they refuse to see the good that a diverse movement can do" and *Daybreak's* response to a critic, in their editorial, where *Daybreak* explains their activities as a "plausible anarchy." Towards the destruction of the merely plausible! [A!]

DESTROY WHAT DESTROYS YOU #1 (hpwombat@yahoo.com) 36 pages, \$2

This is the first collection of two writers (HP Wombat and Heretic) whose work has been floating around the internet over the past few years. Mostly the sense you have weighing this publication in your hand is that it isn't quite ready for prime-time. The aesthetic is, to be generous, chaotic, the layout is uninspired, and it includes poetry (which would sink a greater ship than this). Generally this would be more than enough for people to put it back on the ground and back away slowly. Closer attention validates this inclination. While the concepts that Wombat and Heretic are grappling with are very exciting and rich, their approach tends to be literal and linear. "How can you express yourself with someone always looking over your shoulder with an incessant desire to enforce their will on anything you say?" Couple this kind of victim rhetoric with drawings of Jesus-like black blockers shooting people in the head, grinning punks with dynamite, and a McDonalds sign with a bar code and you get a clear impression. This is not ready to share. It represents something more akin to a diary between friends of what they plan to do and how they share their dreams than something ready to tear the world asunder. [A!]

EARTH FIRST!

November 2003 - December 2004 (POB 3023, Tucson, AZ 85702) 60 pages, \$4.50

COMMUNICATING VESSELS Number 15



"Racing, racing, racing - my heart moves too quickly while my mind halts in mid-sentence."

COMMUNICATING VESSELS #15 (3527 NE 15th Avenue #127, Portland, OR 97212) 48 pages, \$3

This issue of CV has a great write up on the 'Unknown Revolution' that took place in Germany from 1918-1920. This period of time has been so dominated by the Soviet experience that the Ger-

DAYBREAK NEWS #5 (POB 14007 Minneapolis, MN 55414) 12 pages, donation

I really appreciate magazines like *Daybreak*. They reflect the communities that they come from (in this case Minneapolis-St. Paul) and allow those of us who are not in town to see the priorities and activities of anarchists in other places. As part of the long tradition of anti-racist activity there are updates on local Nazis and the efforts to thwart them and commentary on the FBI's recent visits to the area. The rest of the magazine is cut-and-paste international news, columns by local authors and reviews of zines, music and video. Their politics, while ostensibly anarchist, are largely indecipherable from a fashionable radicalism. They define anarchism as "mutual aid, direct democracy, community autonomy and direct action... an insurrectionary lifestyle." This is all fine jargon but hardly differentiated in practice from bohemian culture on the whole. This point is emphasized several times in this issue most pointedly by the criticism of *Green Anarchy* that

The good news is that the EF! journal has improved a great deal over the years. The journal looks the best, reads cleanly, and feels like it was produced in a more 'grassroots' fashion than I have ever seen it. Kudos on the improvements! The journal continues to be a mostly topical examination of horrific environmental actions and the response of concerned people. The analysis tends to be of the 'rant' category, which isn't a bad thing but denotes a certain lack of depth for the magazine. You can see most segments of the Green scene represented within these pages. The classifieds include ads from *Green Anarchy*, *Slingshot*, *Concerned Singles* (yes, for environmentally minded singles), the Green Festival, etc. Probably what continues to be most interesting in EF! is its sense of irreverence. One issue has a 6 shot sequence of Peter Allgeier getting pied on the back cover and a crushed SUV on the front, another has the embarrassing image of 4 desert clad saboteurs on the cover with their fists raised and monkey wrenches in hand. Funny. Laugh. [A!]

THE INSURGENT
vol 1, #16 (EMU Ste 1, University of Oregon, Eugene, OR 97403-1228) \$15 a year (free to UO students, the community, prisoners)

I opened this small newspaper out of Eugene with some skepticism. I see the words "The Insurgent" all over the cover of the paper, reminding me of when people can't stand their conditions anymore and an uprising begins, but at the bottom of this paper the reader can't miss that there is "stuff about voting" inside. A few pages later, there is a photo of a wounded Iraqi kid, reminding you visually that kids are dying all over the world due

to US Foreign Policy; at the bottom of the page it says "November 2nd," as if participating in the electoral process will fix this problem.

This student paper gives news about what is going on primarily at the University of Oregon, but also touches on larger matters. The world news gives important insights into what is going on in terms of US Imperialism and how other countries are fighting against it. Events like the Nigerian workers going on strike and shutting down most of the shops is news that usually goes unheard here in the States. There is a lot of coverage on the election, wars, and how the troops are handling it. It is noted that President Bush was indicted for war crimes this past December at the International Criminal Tribunal for Afghanistan. If only that really meant something.

We also hear about a young man's travels to Burning Man. The paper fails to mention just what Burning Man is. (I found out it is an intentional experimental community that happens once a year for a week in Nevada that is dedicated to "radical self-expression and radical self reliance," according to the website.) I suppose everyone deals with the angst of capitalism differently.

For the most part the news is about our government, whether it's local or national, and what is happening to the various governments from a leftist perspective. This perspective seems most popular in today's age of dissent, not really admitting to subscribing to Communist authoritarian philosophies, but instead calling it something else such as "parecon."

The most radical article is about how Kerry and Bush are the same thing. This author goes further than her peers by saying that today's problems like "constant destruction of the en-

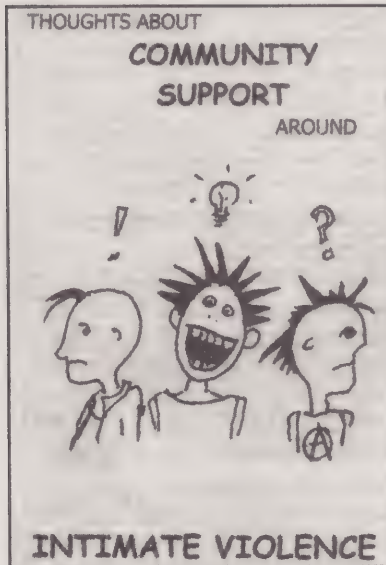
vironment, indigenous cultures, domesticated and wild animals" are "byproducts of our civilization and our government." (She also recognizes that this is not the commonly held view.) But instead of sticking to her convictions, she makes a call for people to get beyond voting like the CrimethInc. campaign of "Don't Just Vote." The Crimethinc campaign promotes the creation of radical activists, as if that's what we need - another subculture defining ourselves and our activities.

For most, as this author demonstrates, leaving the left milieu behind is very hard, even for anarchists, as most will cling to the idea that we are always connected to the socialist left. It's also hard for many liberals to let go of the system of giving control to people by voting for them; instead they consent to that loss of control, and later say it's a sham. This process psychologically disturbs some; it's shocking to realize. As a young student, I connected with this article because it reminded me of when I first saw electoral politics for the sham it is and at the time my involvement was with the Green Party.

At the end of the paper, you have a DIY recipe for poster glue (I imagine for that Kerry/Edwards poster). This newspaper is really for the students, although they try to appeal to prisoners by saying they'll give you a free one. I really don't see how you could connect to *The Insurgent* if you don't attend the University of Oregon. There are two pages dedicated to describing why one of the buildings is depressing, for heaven's sake. If I want to read something with lots of well written descriptions I'll read Nabokov or Chekhov, two Russian authors who can go on and on about a beautiful-grassy plain.

In the meantime, as their struggle for a socialist demo-

crazy dwindles, it is our contemporary struggle for self-determination and liberation that continues to spark the creative destruction of the old. [B]



INTIMATE VIOLENCE
(<http://sfbay-anarchists.org/ivz/>) 48 pages

The full title of this publication is *Thoughts about Community Support Around Intimate Violence* which is a mouthful and demonstrates how difficult it is to talk about abuse. It is about community response to abuse. It is a revolutionary approach that begins by believing in people's capacity to change and communities' ability to be understanding. It properly names the common problems that are largely avoided in most discussions about abuse: demonization, lack of desire to change, timeliness of intervention, civility, and ignoring/denial as problem-solving techniques. It does not assume that the burden of 'problem behavior that needs to be fixed' is on one person. This publication, and its approach to intimate violence (the term used instead of the more familiar domestic violence) reflects the priorities of radical communities and may be seen as quaint or silly to outsiders.

There are lots of line drawings of punks and radicals doing their thing. There are cartoons. Outside of the introduction there is no gendering (use of a star and triangle instead refers to abuse roles instead of gender categories) which many could find distracting. If one can get past these affectations this effort can be seen for what it is, the most important publication of its kind on the subject. [A]

LIBERTY

January & February 2005
(POB 1181 Port Townsend, WA 98368) 56 pages, \$4

Anyone without prior knowledge of this magazine might approach it as a sensible alternative to magazines like *the Nation* (an aesthetic it closely matches). In terms of depth of thought it is actually a fair comparison as *Liberty* is filled with articles that are learned, biased (more on this later), and sincere. Just as *the Nation* serves as an editorial source for the urban Democrat, *Liberty* is an editorial source for the urban Libertarian. Both of these issues have lengthy articles analyzing Libertarian success during the 2004 election, Nader, and third party politics in general. Not interesting, Tucker (the individualist anarchist founder of *Liberty* magazine) must spin in his grave. What is interesting is that there is a concerted effort in the magazine to try to talk about the "big issues" which is rarely seen in publications today. A reprint about the question of freedom, what's right vs. what works, was actually quite interesting even if it wasn't in a particularly approachable vernacular. The question was posed like this: "is (freedom) a good thing because of its consequences—because it creates a more prosperous or a happier society—and those who believe that freedom is a good thing be-

cause it is entailed by objective morality, which instructs us that it is always wrong to initiate physical force or to engage in fraud." These are interesting questions that could be asked of anarchists in general. [A]

THE MATCH

#101 (POB 3012, Tucson AZ 85702) 104 pages, \$3

Hopefully Fred will never die. His stubbornness, attitude, and individualistic esprit de corps should keep him cranking well into his nineties but are they enough to keep him at his printer? Instead of ranting about those rascally black-clad kids (although he's still keeping an eye out for them) Fred's boogie-monster this time around is chain grocery stores 'saver' cards. The short and long of these cards is that they provide savings at the expense of privacy. In typical Woodworth hyperbole "Producing the card prevents you from being discriminated against, but enters a record of all your purchases in a database that can be (and with increasing frequency IS) quietly examined by law enforcement investigators seeking to build profiles of certain persons." Curious to know more about these people who are not able to be profiled, numbered, and examined by law enforcement. Do they all run their own printing presses? The rest of this issue covers the usual gamut of *The Match's* topics. Who the Police Beat, Around & About, a review section (where he lambastes everyone with a laser printer and Carhartts), and a spectacular letters section where we are all reproached for having bank accounts, not using mail correctly, and dreaming of escaping city life. *The Match* continues to be the voice of something called 'ethical anarchism' which could be the most isolated, rigorous,

ORGANISE!

Winter 2004 (Box 2, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London, E1 7QX) 40 pages, £2.50

There is a sectarian struggle being waged between so called 'class-struggle' anarchists and everyone else that this magazine demonstrates. In their vision it appears that proper organizations through combination and campaigns will be central to social struggle and by extension will shape the future society. Their vision of current work looks like this "(Our) aims and principles on trade unions and industrial organization are a great step forward in the sense that a federation of workplace and community resistance groups, alongside activity in the trade unions has provided us with the opportunity to initiate in cooperation with others a series of industrial networks." This issue has a nice piece on Argentina (that of course mentions, as a problem, the limited number of 'organised anarchists' there are there), a piece on the anarchist tradition over the past 20 years (that, naturally, cites Bookchin and Class War as two of the most important tendencies during this period), nanotechnology (where the analysis is that direct action has inspired the government to take a more sophisticated analysis of shoving future GMO type projects down society's throat), the resistance in Iraq (pro), and a great history piece on the peasant resistance to the Bolsheviks. An interesting read, if for no other reason but to keep your critical skills sharp since under the big umbrella of Anarchism, language, context, and priority can lead to great confusion and taking positions that actually aren't very interesting, inspiring, or effective. Differentiating is an important tool. [A!]



PERSPECTIVES

On Anarchist Theory; Volume 8, #2 (POB 1664, Peter Stuyvesant Station, NYC, NY 10009) 64 pages, \$5

This magazine is a mixed bag. Most of it is book reviews, kicked off by Chuck Morse who provides brief outlines of some new books - mostly left, mostly not anarchist. More extensively reviewed are two books in Spanish on Uruguayan anarchists, a review of, and comparison between, CrimethInc's *Days of War, Nights of Love* and Galeano's *Days and Nights of Love and War*. From the latter review: "The work of revolutionary insurgency must be done by the revolutionary insurgents—that is, the workers and non-workers in mass revolt." There is also a review of three books about Frantz Fanon, and so on.

Of the non-review material there is an interview of John Holloway, the author of a book on the Zapatistas ("I think there are bad states and worse states, bad governments and worse governments. And clearly the Bush government is one of the worst and yes, it is important to defeat it..."); a personal account

of oppression/resistance in Argentina and some replies to previous reviews (as well as a reply to a reply).

Reading this magazine raises the question of intelligent thinking, and the various components that go into making a good read or a good conversation. There are interesting parts in some of the conversations in this magazine, between people who are actually talking to each other and actually questioning themselves, and that, of course, is appealing. I would like to have conversations with some of these folks, because they seem to be really thinking.

But this academically-oriented publication demonstrates one of the main problems with a college education, which is that while school can take steps to teach people *how* to think about something, it also generally blinds people around what things to think about. At its best PAT is a disconcerting series of sincere, thoughtful approaches to out-of-date and tired perspectives and analyses. [DM]

RADICAL VISIONARY

If I only had the courage #1 (POB 14864, Portland, OR 97293) 22 pages

Take one part Dr. Bronners soap, one part Fabulous Freak brothers, and one part cut-and-paste web pages and you have what you need to know about this project. [A!]

THE UTOPIAN

August 2004, Volume 4 (POB 387, College Station, NYC, NY 10030) 122 pages

This is a very interesting project with a byline 'A Journal of Anarchism & Libertarian Socialism' doing it a disservice. This issue has a lengthy section of documents from the Cuban Libertarian Movement that begs for more editorializing. Personal essays Trotsky, Jesus and Buddha -

Remembering the '60's and Trip to Oaxaca', historical essays 'War and Civil Rights: The Negro Quarterly, 1942-1943' and 'The Dialectics of Ambiguity: The Marxist Theory of History'. The piece that is mostly likely to raise the blood pressure of our readers is Wayne Price's (NEFAC) 'Libertarian Marxism's Relation to Anarchism' this line being evocative "It (Libertarian Marxism) is strategically inflexible, in particular opposed to working inside unions, the main mass organizations of the working class." What I come away with from the Utopian are a few questions. What is the social-political milieu from which it originates? It is 122 pages with very learned content, but it is stapled together. Its content seems to be written by academics but it doesn't seem academic in a way I would normally dismiss. Is this a group of friends who have grown together into intellectual careers? Maybe future issues will include more biographical information. [A!]

WILLFUL DISOBEDIENCE
Volume 5, #2 (Venomous Butterfly - 818 SW 3rd Ave., PMB 1237 Portland, OR 97217) 36 pages, \$2

This latest issue of WD has two articles that are particularly interesting. "The Barbarians inside the Gate" relates social struggle to the new urban forms (exurbs, post-City of Quartz, new shantytowns, etc). The Revolutionary Wager argues that we should just stick out our chin and roll the dice on revolution. "The idea that revolution is 'unrealistic' is not an illogical conclusion, but regardless of the fierceness of the rhetoric of those who assume this, it indicates a surrender to the present reality" I don't know what planet Wolfi lives on but I have to surrender to this present reality every fucking day.

Willful Disobedience

An Anarchist Publication
 Volume 5, Number 2, Fall 2004



The time has come to say things without mincing words

The real treat in this issue concerns the introduction. For some time I have been very frustrated at the method by which disagreements have played themselves out within the milieu. In the name of criticism personal issues, ideological vendettas, and just straight bullshit gets substituted for intelligent, compassionate, and appropriate dialogue. Note the last word. If you really wish to clearly and honestly differentiate your position with someone whom you consider an ally you do not compare them to someone everyone can't stand, nor do you call them someone whose light has passed (or whose best work is behind them).

This introduction approaches these topics and no small amount of controversy over the past year, with the right amount of sensitivity and balance. At the same time the criticisms that are made about communication (especially as it relates to jargon and ideology) are spot on. Wolfi has appropriately implicated every reader in a criticism pointed at a particular situation. [A!]

WHERE DO WE MEET Face to Face? (Venomous Butterfly - 818 SW 3rd Ave., PMB 1237 Portland, OR 97217) 8 pages, no price listed

This is a short pamphlet that tackles a very specific question in Wolfi's lucid style. As living in this society has become removed from direct experience and towards mediation a direct experience has been the increased difficulty of face-to-face communication, especially with strangers. The struggle against alienation has many fronts, none of which can be neglected in the total struggle. The struggle of the commons is another one where the priorities of subculture and safety directly contrast to insurrectional aims. "If we do not wish to find ourselves in a world where no one really lives, where no one really knows anyone else... then we must have the strength to attack alienation in every way we can. Otherwise, we just may find that there is no place left where we can meet face to face." [A!]

Non-English-language materials received

Archivio G. Pinelle Bollettino (Centro Studi Libertari Cas. Post. 17005 20170 Milano, Italy) #24 December 2004, no price listed

Essays included in this issue cover Italian immigrants in Brazil and their influence on the Brazilian anarchist movement, a notice about the Kate Sharpley Library celebrating its 25th year, a long biography of Art Bartell (Attilio Bortolotti), who lived for a long time in Canada and was Emma Goldman's friend, a not-unfriendly review of the Institute for Social Ecology. With lots of other short biographies and book reviews.

In Italian.

anarchist media

CNT; Organ of the National Confederation of Labor (Pza. Tirso de Molina 5 2o. 29012 Madrid, Spain) no. 306 November 2004, 1.25 Euros

Articles on the recent repression against Indymedia, an interview with Cuban anarchist historian Frank Fernandez, coverage of Russian and Brazilian movement activities, and some book reviews. Plus the usual industrial news. In Spanish.

Rojo y Negra (c/Sagunto 15, 1o. 28010 Madrid, Spain) #171 November 2004, 0.75 Euros

This is the newspaper of the "other" anarcho-sindicalist union, the CGT. Many more diverse articles than are featured



France) #251 December 2004, 1.50 Euros

Readers are reminded of the publishing history on each front page under the title: created by Joseph Dejacques in 1858 in the US (in French), restarted by Sebastian Faure in 1895,

and currently published by the libertarian group Jules-Durand and individual anarchists. This four-pager is the journal of the dreaded (to the neo-Platformists) synthesists. The front page features a celebration of next year's centenary of the Charter of Amiens, the dismal syndicalist manifesto that created and furthered much animosity and recriminations among anarchists a hundred years ago. The most incomprehensible feature is a "Letter from the United States" that celebrates the various antics of Rabbi Michael Lerner. This creepy social democrat/soft zionist is put forward as an exemplary writer, and religious leader with a long biography and survey of his magazine and book writings. Lerner is no anarchist—far from it; he identifies with the liberal-left tradition. Reading this paean to him is even worse than reading anything by or about Michael Albert. In French.

Social Harmony (PO Box 76148 T.K. 17110 Athens, Greece) #24-26 Sep. 2003-Sep. 2004, no price listed

Each issue contains a reprint of the writings of Kropotkin; "Communism and the Wage System," "Glimpses of the Labor Movement in Britain," and "Politics and Socialism" respectively. Some appreciations of Nina Simone appear in two issues as well. In Greek.

Solidaridad Obrera; Organ of the Regional Confederation of Labor in Catalonia (Hospital 101 08001 Barcelona, Spain) #321 July 2004, 1 Euro

Condemns of the European Constitution, UN and NATO troops in Kosovo, the dismal treatment of the elderly by the Spanish state, plus a couple of book reviews. Lots more on union activities and dealing with those crummy bosses. In Spanish and Catalan.

Le Libertaire; revue de synthese anarchiste (BP 745 76060 Le Havre,

Antarktika; a magazine for the critique of domination (c/o Schwarzmärkt kleiner Schaeferkamp 46 20357 Hamburg, Germany) #1 Winter 2004 1 Euro.

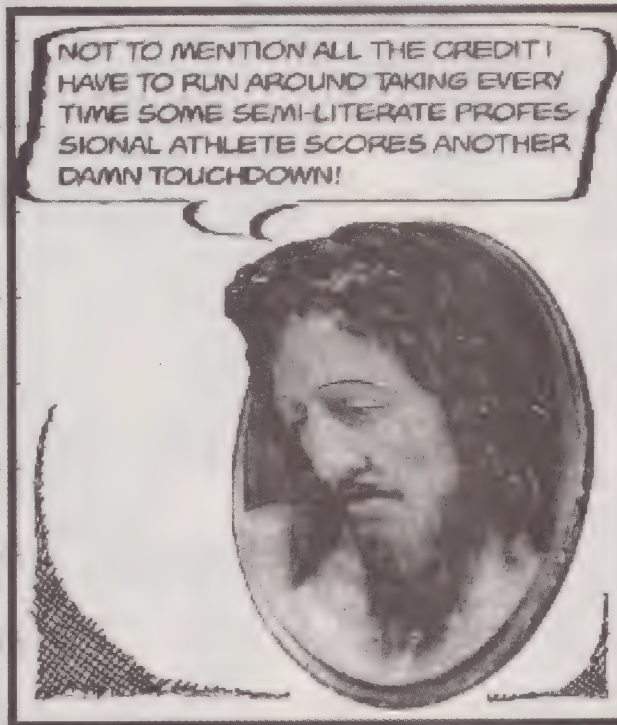
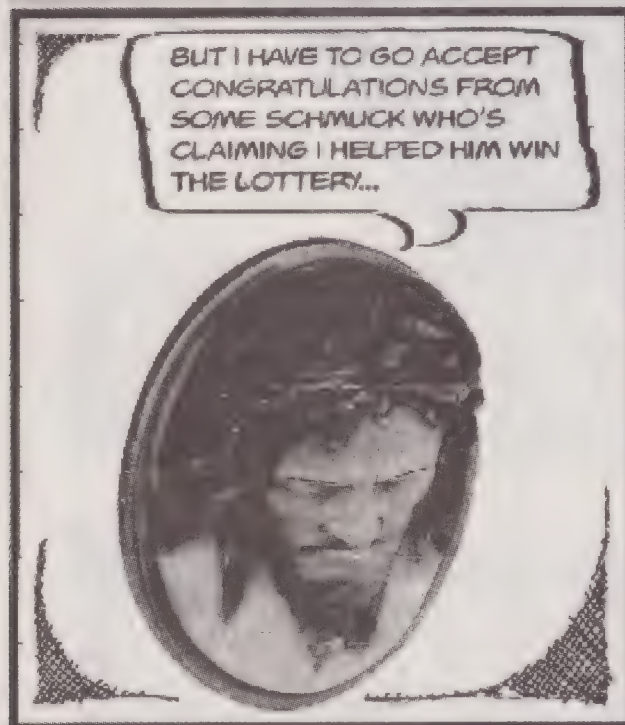
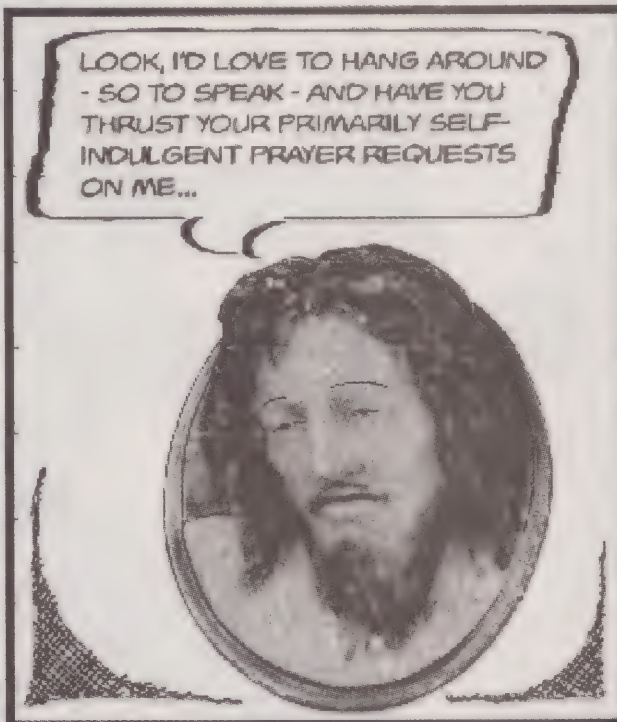
This is a new green anarchist anti-civilization journal from some very smart folks in Germany. The focus of this issue is anarcho-primitivism, and they're taking it seriously and intelligently. Two articles tackle the sociological constructs of "Nature" and "The Other," while another one deals with a critique of Science. Also included (and great to see) is an extensive glossary. In German.



Alternative Press Review Spring 2005, vol 9, #1 (POB 6245, Arlington, VA 22206), \$4.95/\$5.95 in Canada; \$16 for yearly subscription

After a two-year absence APR is back with a new editorial/production collective (Allan Antliff, Jason McQuinn, and Thomas Wheeler). APR grew out of the original "Alternative Press Review" column in *Anarchy*.

PROTESTANT BLUES by teverton





caveat: Both feminists and anarchists come in wildly divergent flavors (some mutually exclusive), and yet those labels remain useful. I do not continually say "this kind of anarchist" or "my kind of feminist," so please understand that I'm biased and referring to the anarchist and feminist ideas that are most interesting to me.

LESS WITHIN, MORE BETWEEN

BY LEONA BENTEN

Feminism is meaningful as a perspective on what humans need, and what 'human' means. This is qualitatively different from feminism being merely about defining 'woman' more expansively. Feminists believe that both men and women are constrained by gender/sex roles in this culture (and most cultures that have survived under the current paradigm). We believe that while one group in this culture is more obviously powerful (i.e. able to do more of what they want, to determine more of the course of their lives), that the definitions of "power" are warped: one way men are considered to be powerful is that men can and do beat the people who care about them, which is hardly 'powerful' in any kind of appropriate, sustainable way. In other words, men are usually more able to make decisions about externals but also usually have a more severe lack of internal options regarding range of feelings and relationships. Part of the power equation in this culture is the 'power' of being a victim or martyr that women have been encouraged to claim as our own. The fact that it is frequently a dissatisfying option doesn't refute the point that there is a status that comes from being worse off than other people. (The "innocent victim of war/crime/catastrophe/blood transfusion stories is only the most blatant example of this line of thinking.) The power that comes from that status can be hard to give up, especially if there seems to be no other kind of power available. This is the best answer I can find to the question of a conversation I had in my 20s with an anti-choice woman who argued that if it is possible for women to get abortions, then men will not be forced to deal with the consequences of their actions. In this perspective, abortions mean that women's bodies become men's toys. If pregnancy is the last option for getting a husband to take care

of you - i.e. for survival, to some people - then socially-acceptable abortions take away women's last, strongest tool.

Put a "strong" woman in the same small group with a "weak" one, and [there] becomes a problem: How does she not dominate? How does she share her hard-earned skills and confidence with her sister? From the other side - how does the "weak" woman learn to act in her own behalf?... Those of us who have learned to survive by dominating others, as well as those of us who have learned to survive by accepting domination, need to resocialize ourselves into being strong without playing dominance-submission games, into controlling what happens to us without controlling others... (Carol Ehrlich - *Socialism, Anarchism & Feminism*)

Anarcha-feminists reject simple essentialist analysis. We know that while characteristics that are assigned to women in this culture need bolstering (nurturing, wombs, moods, non-linear thinking — all mostly good) and women need bolstering (we deserve better than what we get), it is misleading to conflate the two. It is not a matter of deserving better because we have wombs (we don't all have wombs) or because we are nurturers (we are not the only ones who nurture), and so on.

As anarchist feminists we are not asking men to atone for the sins of the forefathers, we are asking them to take responsibility for the masculinity of the future. We are not asking women to be perpetually aware of their oppression but to emerge from it. *Mostly we are not locating conflict within certain people, but in the kind of*

behavior that takes place between them.
(Flick Ruby - *Anarcha-feminism*; emphasis added)

Feminism and anarchy both encourage people to take responsibility for our own lives and relationships. This is different from a) advocating that people make the government behave itself, or b) that generalized men make space, in some generalized way, for generalized women. Who can deny that there are institutional structures that enforce oppressive/oppressed roles for men and women? Or that there are patterns of behavior that are endlessly, tediously replicated between most men and most women. But we know that no government is going to help us, or even allow us, to liberate ourselves. We also know that individual behavior is most effectively challenged on an individual level. In other words, if a man is acting like a jerk, then having his less-jerky peers deal with him directly (in whatever way makes sense for the situation) will be a more effective response than (for example) writing/reading some paper saying that men are jerks and should do fill-in-the-blank.

And if there's no group of less-jerky people who are prepared to deal with him respectfully and appropriately? Then the situation is best treated as motivation to get started developing such a group. We have to build these relationships, not continue trying to get by without them.

Feminism or anarchy is frequently people's first and deepest exposure to a fundamental and global type of critical thinking that can work as a compass for gauging every interaction that we have in the world. This is why both feminism and anarchy vary so widely - because on one hand, the significant aspect of both types of analysis is the intensity, clarity and wide range of their critique of the present situation. Both act as elevators dropping us down many floors (as many as we can stand) in the edifice of our current situation.

Both feminism and anarchy emphasize the relevance of day-to-day actions and situations: there are political *and* personal aspects to all experiences. Feminism especially brings an awareness of the concrete, personal and

emotional repercussions of oppression. Most political theory is happy to exist platonically, but feminism insists that we check ourselves and our friends regarding the decisions we make, the relationships we live, the choices we assume. Feminism tracks the genesis of personal behavior from political, social constructs (which is the original meaning of "the personal is political"). Feminism rejects abstractions to the extent that they distract us from what we can do *now* to make the world better, or to the extent that people act like

we can make a better world without challenging problematic patterns *now*. To say that this is 'feminist' is to say that it is not behavior that comes easily or gracefully within a sexist culture.

We all have to find our ability to a) value and work on relationships, b) value ourselves and our ideas, and c) be creative (and patient) when those two seem to be at odds. DIY, communal living and polyamory are all aspects of this kind of perspective. A significant part of this living-in-the-real-world aspect of feminism is the recognition that actual situations, choices, and people are complex, with conflicting motivations and unpredictable interactions. There is no purity. (The concept of purity is a christian construct that valorizes the non-physical/sacred by denigrating the physical/mundane, as a way

to bolster the power of religious, ideological "experts.") Walking towards being more wonderful is gratifying (and fun!), as long as it's kept in perspective. Feminism and anarchy both help us keep that perspective: anarchy by reminding us that none of us want to be Authorities/experts, that Authority is undesirable as a state, dehumanizing as a position.

The combination of feminism's understanding of complex emotional realities and anarchy's belief in our fundamental ability to be in appropriate relationship means that an anarcha-feminist response to inappropriate behavior by community members requires a community response that is just and supportive to all parties involved.

... to draw back respectfully from the

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most
analysis

Self-gate of the plainest, most unpromising creature, even from the most debased criminal, because one knows the nonentity and the criminal in oneself, to spare all condemnation (how much more trial and sentence) because one knows the stuff of which man is made and recoils at nothing since all is in himself, this is what Anarchism may mean to you. It means that to me. (Voltaireine deCleyre - *Anarchism*)

We acknowledge that we are all broken by the society that raised us, that we all need to learn how to interact with each other better, and that while some of us are more broken than others, self righteousness is not helpful to us, either as individuals or as groups.

Anarcha-feminists are somewhere along the road of holding the community and the individual in simultaneous regard, challenging both the individualism and the group-think taught us by patriarchal capitalism. This balancing act (uh, this wildly swinging trapeze?) addresses both the need for reconciliation and the reality that we cannot spend all our time trying to help people who don't want to change. (And of course we reject the whole christian continuum of Righteous Casting Out of Sinners on one pole and martyr-sacrificing-self-for-other-people on the other.) Anarchists and feminists also find ways of being in relationship that are different from culturally prescribed models - like by challenging the primacy of romantic/sexual relationships, and the idea that any relationship is separable from the context and social relationships it exists within (e.g. abusive relationships are frequently misunderstood to be the business only of the people involved, rather than a part of

whatever social circles are involved).

While a bias towards the real is one of the things that maintains feminism's relevance, that bias also limits us when it comes to articulating what our goals are. I have been to too many conferences, anarchist and otherwise, where the feminist component is dominated by talk about the prevalence of sexist behavior (duh) and how we need to support each other (again duh, or perhaps, unh unh, depending on the definition of support and who "each other" is). The lack of analytic and strategic thinking is in part a valid rejection of abstraction, and in part intellectual

laziness and/or intimidation. The feminist tactic of analyzing our individual behavior and needs, too frequently is used to attack people for not abiding by "rules," when what it is good for is challenging ourselves and our friends to keep our theory and practice fresh and meaningful. This means criticism has to work for something other than making one person feel better than another.

Finally, there is an ongoing tension for anarchists between understanding ourselves as members of groups and understanding ourselves as individuals. U.s. culture exploits both those urges in people, and dissidents in the u.s. tend to prioritize one or the other; e.g. anarcho-individualists vs. anarcho-communists or -syndicalists. But really we need to incorporate our needs for both autonomy and membership into how we want to live. We all need to develop a more sophisticated understanding of how u.s. culture manipulates us through both sets of needs (by pushing conformity and individuality). Feminism provides anarchists with tools to discuss both autonomy and membership. "Feminism," "racism," "classism": the whole lexicon of "identity" is useful to today's anarchists to the extent that it provides us with ways to talk about, and to meet, both sets of needs.

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The Life and times of Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed: 25 years of critical anarchist publishing

by Jason McQuinn AKA Lev Chernyi

PART 1: The first Decade of *Anarchy* magazine

The rebirth of North American anarchism

Throughout the 1950s and early '60s most of the historical anarchist movements around the world looked like just that, historical movements—withering and dying out where they hadn't already done so. In fact, one former-anarchist writer, George Woodcock, announced in his well-known 1962 anthology, *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements*, that anarchism as a social-political movement had had its day.

By chance I happened across one of the more lively remaining embers of the North American anarchist milieu in the late 1960s as a crippled teen attending a Midwestern high school in a thoroughly white, working-class suburb of St. Louis. Like many others of my generation, I followed with great interest the emergence and radicalization of the civil rights movement, the anti-Vietnam war movement, the growing hints of the oncoming second wave of feminism, the slow ecological awakening, and the many student struggles around the continent. Unable to participate directly in any substantial way due to my relative isolation, lack of mobility and consequently limited range of opportunities, I spent much of my time during my high school years reading about the then-current crises and researching the histories of radical theories and movements. One of the radical threads that interested me greatly happened to be the criticism of schooling. And this led eventually to some of the writings of Paul Goodman, one of the more notable and controversial educational critics of the time. While reading one of his books, probably in 1967 or 1968, I happened across a line in *Notes of a Neolithic Conservative*, in which he mentioned his perspective in a off-hand way by saying something like:

"I, of course, am an anarchist."

From that first indication that the word "anarchist" could qualify as more than a swearword for reactionaries and anxious liberals, I began following up on Goodman's hint and discovered, bit by bit, that there were more than a few isolated individuals who opposed capitalism and the state and who happened to call themselves "anarchists." There was a whole historical movement whose activities at one time or another embraced and encompassed all the continents of the world. It didn't take me long to realize that if such a movement had existed, my deepest sympathies lay with both its previous developments and with the obvious need to revive, publicize and rekindle its remaining embers as much as possible. From that time on my eyes and ears were sensitized. I sought out all the occasional flashes of activity, slogans, music and other expressions of anarchy amidst the tumult of the late '60s and early '70s milieus of rebellion. Though these were increasingly submerged by a tidal wave of Marxist dogmatism, sectarianism and authoritarianism that has been sometimes slowly, sometimes more quickly, receding for the last couple decades, ever since it contributed so much to suffocating the radical impulses of that time.

There were a few hints of anarchist influence in the North American 1960s besides that of Paul Goodman, but not all that many of substance. If one looked closely one might come across the works of Dwight MacDonald, Allen Ginsberg, Henry Miller, Abbie Hoffman & Jerry Rubin, Gary Snyder, Judith Malina & Julian Beck (founders of the Living Theater group), Karl Hess (the former Goldwater speech-writer), Dorothy Day & Ammon Hennacy, Kenneth Rexroth and Kenneth Patchen, along with a few others. Also available, were a few assorted remnants of anarchist (and related utopian and cultural radical) treasures from the nineteenth century or early de-

cade of the twentieth century in libraries. Here I encountered William Morris, Charles Fourier, historical accounts of rebellions and revolutions, and even a few Surrealist novels.

Here and there in the underground, anti-war and student press there were other mentions of anarchism or anarchy, most often in the midst of incoherent diatribes against the war and the "establishment" or rants about marijuana & LSD, youth culture, Ché Guevara and Mao-tse-Tung (in the predominant '60s transliteration). At first, aside from the works of Paul Goodman and beyond the Dover editions of Bakunin's *God and the State* (1970), Roger Baldwin's anthology of *Kropotkin's Revolutionary Pamphlets* (1970) and Emma Goldman's *Anarchism & Other Essays* (1969), or the 1963 Libertarian Book Club edition of Max Stirner's *The Ego and His Own* (reprinted by Dover in 1973), it was still hard to find books in print by or about anarchists in North America. This was especially true in the Midwest—though Goodman's works and these four classics remain among the very best and most important contributions to anarchist literature. However, in the aftermath of 1968, and as the 1970s began, something more of an actual anarchist milieu slowly began to take minimal

shape throughout the continent. A few books by anarchists from other continents (predominantly European) began trickling in and appearing here (mostly in translation). Some of the most important of these included Daniel Cohn-Bendit's *Obsolete Communism*, the 1974 Abraham Guillén anthology *Philosophy of the Urban Guerrilla*, and the many Freedom Press reprints from London like the 1974 reprint of Petr Kropotkin's *Fields, Factories and Workshops Tomorrow*. At the time there were also a few theorists and activists struggling (with varying degrees of success and failure) to overcome the dead weight of their immersion in the Marxist tradition by moving in an anarchistic direction: Daniel Guérin (author of *Anarchism*, published in English translation in 1975, also editor of the massive anthology—only available in French at that time—*Ni Dieu, Ni Maître*), Herbert Marcuse, Henri Lefebvre (the first volume of whose *Critique of Everyday Life* finally appeared in English translation in 1971), and the Situationist International (whose essays and pamphlets began to appear in quantity here only with its dissolution, aside from the 1970 Black & Red editions of *The Poverty of Student Life* pamphlet and of Guy Debord's *Society of the Spectacle*).

North American scholars, and even a few an-



anarchist writers and activists, began appearing in print more often in the later 1960s and early '70s. Irving Horowitz's important anthology, *The Anarchists*, appeared in 1964. Leonard Krimerman & Lewis Perry's anthology, *Patterns of Anarchy*, soon followed in 1966. In 1970 Murray Bookchin's surprising *Post-Scarcity Anarchism* appeared. In 1971 Martin Miller edited a new Kropotkin anthology titled *Selected Readings on Anarchism and Revolution*, before publishing his biography a few years later in 1976. Marshall Shatz's anthology *The Essential Works of Anarchism* appeared in 1971. In 1972 Sam Dolgoff's *Bakunin on Anarchy* was released. Alexander Berkman's *What is Communist Anarchism?* was also reprinted by Dover in 1972, while Julian Beck's *Life of the Theater* was published the same year. And Paul Avrich's important studies, *The Russian Anarchists* and *The Anarchists in the Russian Revolution*, were published in 1971 and 1973.

Even in the midst of the explosion of underground press periodicals in the 1960s and early '70s few could be classified as even semi- or quasi-anarchist, like *the Yipster Times* or *Overthrow*. *The Match!* emerged as an increasingly explicit anarchist periodical under Fred Woodworth, from its days as a collective, anti-war project of the Student Libertarian Action Movement at the University of Arizona. Throughout the '70s the *SRAF Bulletin for Anarchist Agitators* (published by Jim Bumpas from Mountain View, California) made the first sustained, and even somewhat effective, attempt to bridge the isolation of the handfuls of anarchists spread around the continent with both its bulletin and the increasingly frequent SRAF (Social Revolutionary Anarchist Federation) conferences. Later on SRAF groups also launched *Black Star* magazine as well. In 1972 (if I recall correctly) in Montreal the semi-academic journal *Our Generation* made an explicit editorial commitment to libertarian socialism and anarchism. *No Limits* showed up from Madison. A vestigial IWW (Industrial Workers of the World) union was revived with new energy. A handful of issues of the *Black Rose* journal appeared from Massachusetts. And, especially importantly, Detroit's *Fifth Estate* was reorganized as an anarchist paper in 1975, presenting the most stimulating and

coherent attempt to that date at synthesizing the best elements of the anarchist and (semi-libertarian aspects of the) Marxist traditions.

Throughout the '60s and early '70s isolated anarchists (and a steadily increasing number of widely scattered anarchist groups) participated in the most important social events of the time, most often as loyal (but often skeptical and critical) participants in the various single-issue movements which made up what many people called "the movement." There were anarchists here and there involved in the civil rights movement, the various student free speech and university-reform movements, the anti-war movement, the gay movement, the feminist movement, the sexual-freedom movement, the anti-nuclear and ecology movements, the back-to-nature/back-to-the-land movement, and all the others. There were a fair number of anarchists involved in Students for a Democratic Society, the largest student-left organization of the time, though they were unable to establish an effective identity within the larger group. There was a brief series of anarchist conferences held at Hunter College in New York (I attended the end of one of them in the summer of 1972 after hitchhiking in from Missouri).

Most anarchists at the time—due to the near-complete lack of continuity with anarchists from earlier generations—had little knowledge of theoretical nuances or of the history of anarchist movements either here or on other continents. Most were (as they often are to this day) activist-oriented and relatively uninterested in radical history or theory, frequently participating in New Left—or even old left—groups (including those which explicitly condemned anarchism) in order to be able to work with anyone at all. Unfortunately, while the spirit of the times was often consciously libertarian, the various Marxist ideologies and organizations were increasingly dominant in practice. Even when anarchists were welcomed into activist groups, they would often find themselves the object of repeated attempts at conversion to Marxism at best, or at worst silenced as a condition for participation. And, almost invariably (as is still often the case), despite proclaiming the importance of "democracy" or even "participatory democracy," major

decisions of the various leftist organizations were made behind-the-scenes by leaderships often tied to Marxist political parties or proto-party groups.

Origins of the Columbia Anarchist League

After participating in a short-lived high-school underground paper, experimenting with a few drugs, and attending the first Earth Day activities in 1970, I entered college (the first in my family) in St. Louis and began attending meetings and activities of both SDS and, shortly thereafter, the newly-forming St. Louis Radical Libertarian Alliance. The SDS chapter was under the control of Progressive Labor Maoists following the then-recent split and was the main leftist group on the University of Missouri-St. Louis campus. The St. Louis RLA (later the St. Louis Anarchists), on the other hand, was a motley study group made up of both capitalist and anti-capitalist libertarians meeting at St. Louis University. It was organized by someone who became a good friend, later moving to Columbia where he helped start our housing co-op before writing for *Anarchy* magazine (under the pseudonyms of Badguy and Julian Noa). He had been a member of YAF, the nationally-organized right-wing, pro-capitalist federation (with CIA influence) whose small semi-anarchist/anti-war faction split off at its 1969 St. Louis convention. In a scenario that seemed to play out in many places around the U.S. following the SDS and YAF meltdowns, capitalist and anti-capitalist anarchists who had fit into neither left-wing nor right-wing organizations, met, formed a few groups together and explored their common ground (anti-war, anti-state, anti-authority). In the end most of the anarcho-capitalists reverted to a "minimal state" politics, going on to form the misnamed Libertarian Party (which both opposes the creation of free communities and remains enamored with every opportunity for economic exploitation), while a few of the now-former capitalists and most of the anti-capitalist anarchists went on to work and play within the

nascent anarchist milieu.

By the mid-70s with the increasing proliferation of local anarchist groups (including ours established in 1974 in Columbia, Missouri), the development of a growing network of anarchist-identified periodicals, and the organization of more and more regional and continent-wide gatherings, there finally began to emerge something of a genuinely self-conscious anarchist milieu across the continent which, while remaining heavily involved with the social movements of the day, also focussed on helping anarchists develop the beginnings of their own identity as a potential social force. By 1975 even the usually-quiet Midwest had a noticeable anarchist resurgence with two Midwest anarchist gatherings—one in Columbia during the summer, followed by one in Minneapolis that winter, each drawing participation by from dozens of cities.

By the time our anarchist group in Columbia gained a name and a public existence in the fall of 1974, a number of local anarchists had been increasingly active individually--and informally together--for a couple years. Most were involved in one or several underground and alternative media proj-



ects, beginning with a local underground tabloid, *The Hard Travelin' Times*, a less-focused alternative tabloid, *The Community Sun*, and the formation of a "listener-sponsored" alternative community FM radio station, KOPN. Most also participated in a membership-controlled food co-operative, lived in various collective houses, and were involved in other radical, alternative and community projects (including the local independent women's center and rape-crisis line, study groups, and miscellaneous student and community activist projects).

The latter 1970s saw the slow, but steady expansion of the anarchist milieu, both locally and throughout the continent. Anarchist periodicals began popping up all over. *Soil of Liberty* appeared from Minneapolis, *Bayou la Rose* began its itinerant life in New Orleans, a few issues of *Anarcha-Feminist Notes* appeared (for women only), the *North Country Anvil*, a Christian anarchist-pacifist magazine published in rural Minnesota, *Emancipation* began publishing an impressively long run of issues in Washington, DC., *Work and Pay* made an appearance in the San Francisco Bay Area, the Woodstock Anarchist Party put out a quirky periodical, *Anarchy in Atlanta* made an energetic showing in the South, Open Road published an impressive, colorful activist-oriented tabloid from Vancouver, BC, *Bulldozer* and *Kick It Over* (which still occasionally appears) began publishing in Toronto, and a number of other important projects began to flourish.

The late 1970s saw the withering away of the largely-informal Social Revolutionary Anarchist Federation—following a string of successful gatherings in places as unlikely as Fayetteville, Arkansas (1976) [where the humorless Bruce Allen from Toronto made his memorable retort—when conferees broke up to go skinnydipping in the White River outside of Fayetteville—that he “didn’t come one thousand miles just to go swimming!”] and Wildcat Mountain (1977), Wisconsin. A new (though short-lived) North American Anarchist Communist Federation was founded in 1978, with a fairly decent paper for the time—at first titled the *North American Anarchist* and later (following the usual organizational problems, resulting in the federation’s disintegration in 1982) renamed *Strike!* In

the meantime, the bulk of the anarchist milieu remained intransigently unorganized as (isolated or fraternizing) individuals and informal groups.

The idea of publishing a periodical of some sort was quite natural for our local anarchist group in Columbia. We had already learned printing skills and acquired two large Multilith 1250 printing presses (one a 1250W) for printing posters, leaflets and pamphlets at our housing co-op. We acquired light tables, layout tables, a paper folder, and had plans to build a plate-burner. We even moved a ridiculously large (about 8-foot-long) copy camera up from Texas, intending to build a dark room in our small print shop building. But in the end we didn’t have the money or resources to finish this project. And, in fact, most of our local group’s printing projects ended up being done in the middle of the night at a rural newspaper’s print shop where one of us had a part-time job.

By this time we were engaged in a never-ending series of projects and interventions. For two or three years we held somewhat regular public meetings. These meetings drew both a smattering of genuinely interested individuals (a few of whom became more involved in our group) and the usual assortment of police informers, provocateurs, journalists and (sometimes disruptive) curiosity-seekers. Following involvement in local underground and community newspapers, some of us published the local food co-op’s newsletter and/or worked on the new community radio station’s program guide, as well as doing quite a number of radio shows. Nor were we shy about confronting state functionaries—most notably our public trashing of former CIA director William Colby (director of the Operation Phoenix mass-assassination campaign that led to around 40,000 to 60,000 deliberate murders of civilians in Vietnam) when he attempted to speak at the University of Missouri in 1978, and the infiltration of the Missouri Sheriffs’ Association convention in order to confront FBI-director William Webster and Missouri Senator John Danforth. There was hardly a local protest or alternative community project we didn’t have

a hand in somewhere. To the point where an article appeared in one of the local university student papers making it sound as though our group was a powerful conspiracy orchestrating every significant radical or countercultural project in the area! (After that experience we made it a habit to never again speak to—or encourage in any way—the local capitalist press.) After hosting a Midwest anarchist gathering in 1975, we also participated in other gatherings and conferences whenever we were able to travel. Myself and another member of our group even attended the 1977 International Anarchist Festival in Barcelona which was inspired by the decriminalization of the CNT (following the long-awaited death of Franco) and whose events were attended by thousands of anarchists from across Europe and around the world. Given all our other activities, producing our own periodical in order to publicize our interests, ideas and intentions with an aim to increasing our abilities to intervene in our own community made perfect sense.

The beginnings of *Anarchy* magazine: 1980-1989

The idea took hold. Submissions, participation and donations were solicited. A unique name was developed. “Anarchy” was chosen for its clarity, and because it was available since the long-running London *Anarchy* magazine had by then completely stopped publishing and—especially in the U.S.—was fading from memory; “A Journal of Desire Armed” was chosen for its poetry, its emphasis on everyday life, and as a strong hint that we were interested in far more than traditional leftist politics, economics and ideologies. We wanted it to be especially clear to everyone that *Anarchy* would be wickedly opposed to the boring moralism of political correctness. A first, tiny issue of an amateurish, very quirky, four-page streetsheet was produced in the Winter of 1980 to be freely distributed

around town. We described it in the masthead as “an irregular publication of the Columbia Anarchist League, an anti-profit, anti-capitalist organization of local anarchists dedicated to catalyzing the creation of a more libertarian world.” Unfortunately, although we had plenty of experience by then with working on local projects and publications, we didn’t really have much of a clue about how to create something that would allow us to engage effectively with people as anarchists in our local community. But even with very little response to the first issue, we had no doubts about continuing. A second issue appeared shortly thereafter in March, following which we decided that 500 or 600 copies just wasn’t enough to reach all the people we wanted to reach. And, anyway, neither was



an 8-1/2"x11" newsletter-format street-sheet impressive enough to attract the attention of all that many people.

Our sights turned to producing a consistently non-ideological anarchist tabloid with enough space to get more of a message across to the local population, including news coverage of the international anarchist movement, reviews, fiction, and a changing mixture of cultural, political and economic criticism. However, we soon figured out that there was no way we could afford to publish anything more than a very irregular four or eight-page tabloid with our then-current low wages working relatively unskilled jobs. Especially not when we preferred giving *Anarchy* away for free. So I decided it was time to go back to school in order to acquire a degree that could help me land tolerable jobs paying enough to support the publication of a real newspaper. (Earlier at college I had ended up studying philosophy, with the intention of definitely not doing anything that would help get me any sort of mainstream job.) Unexpectedly, an opportunity for me to go back to school in the health field turned up by accident, leading me to quit the collectively-owned and -run restaurant I had recently organized, even though I had been enjoying my time there.

Although we had planned to continue publishing regularly while I was taking classes, the reality of being a full-time student while working part-time and participating in all our other usual projects meant that at first the tabloid version of *Anarchy* appeared very infrequently. A fairly uninspired issue #4 appeared after a long hiatus, notable mainly for publication of an amazingly long-winded rant by Kathy Fire (an anarchist-feminist musician) critical of a call in a previous issue to disarm police. Issue #5 (February 1983) was the "Punk Anarchfesto"/"Punk in AnarColumbia" issue, reflecting the relatively new entrance of punk bands and culture into the area, along with the inevitable combination of anarchist anti-politics and punk music on local radio shows. The issue also featured Noa's essay "The Cripple and the Man," a personal call for the radicalization of the everyday life of marginalized cripples and creeps, suggesting that *Anarchy* was definitely interested and willing

to explore aspects of radicalism usually ignored elsewhere—or dismissed in a moralistic way. Despite our original intention to publish a free, locally-oriented paper, already by the publication of this issue we had begun offering subscriptions (at a paltry \$3/6 issues to offset the cost of postage) because of the (for us) surprising demand for the magazine that began showing up from other places across North America.

After another long wait (following the initial shock of finishing school again only to find myself working an exhausting night shift job that left me with little energy to work on a publishing project), it was time to reorganize our editorial and production process for publishing more regularly. And, in fact, the sixth through the eleventh issues were published on a monthly to bimonthly basis from August 1985 through April 1986, before we settled back to a more sustainable quarterly to semi-annual schedule. The look of the publication began to slowly improve. The content continued to avoid the more conventionally boring repetition of political and economic clichés, along with the backward-looking historical focus which so often makes radical periodicals unreadable. Following a second (smaller, invitation-only) Midwestern anarchist gathering held in Columbia in the summer of 1985, we published a four-page special issue of *Native American News* as an insert to *Anarchy* #6. Notable contributions to *Anarchy* by members of our group during this time included Diane Dekay's "Pornography & Female Sexuality" (in *Anarchy* #7), along with Julian Noa's "Eros Denied: A Culture against Untouchables" (also in #7) and "The Plague (Central America)" (in #9), plus my own series of short articles (originally written for the co-op newsletter) collectively titled "Cooperation is Anarchy" (#9). (From the start of *Anarchy*, my own writing appeared under the pseudonym of Lev Chernyi until I dropped that name with publication of issue #32 in 1992.) Notable reprints from elsewhere included Bob Black's seminal synthesis, "The Abolition of Work" (in issue #8), and several Gerry Reith stories from *Neutron Gun*. With the tenth issue we started our first serialization—of the new

English translation of *The Papalagi*, a book of collected speeches attributed to a Samoan chief (but actually written by a German anthropologist) which apply a sort of reverse-anthropological critique of European civilization from an indigenous perspective. Issue #10 also included a newly revised and much-enlarged version of the Columbia Anarchist League's statement of principles, then titled "As We See It" The statement was modeled loosely after the British Solidarity Federation's statement by the same name, though it owed more to the influence of Max Stirner, Raoul Vaneigem and the Situationist International than to the Solidarity Federation's rather pedestrian vision of libertarian socialism.

In order to reach as many people as possible throughout the local area we devoted a lot of time and energy to developing several forms of intensive local distribution. Besides the usual practice of placing bundles of the paper in the few sympathetic local businesses and gathering places that allowed it, we put a (free) paper machine outside the local co-op's front doors, we handed out a thousand or so copies of each issue at the university, and at every appropriate public event, and we began rolling up copies of the magazine (usually about a thousand bundles of two or three subsequent issues at a time) to toss out from the back of an old flatbed truck onto the lawns in different sections of Columbia. With each new issue that came out we'd cover a new section of town, until we were back to the beginning and we'd start over again. Expanding on this to cover the rural countryside, we also started sending copies out to the Post Office rural routes around the city, with the aim to eventually get copies to every address in the entire county. We started with Rural Route 1 and worked up to probably RR 4 or RR 5 before deciding that we no longer had the time or money to continue it. However, in 1986 prior to stopping this latter distribution strategy led to complaints from three upset rural residents around the county to the Postal Service demanding that *Anarchy* magazine be banned from the mail, or that its staff should be prosecuted for its content. Local postal workers twice

procured extra copies of *Anarchy* by lying about the purpose in order to send them on to postal inspectors in Kansas City. The first we heard of this was when one of the daily newspapers in Columbia reported on it. It turned out that the first batch of magazines sent to the Kansas City Postal Inspection Unit was "lost in the mail," requiring a second batch to be requested. Ultimately, postal inspectors reluctantly decided that the periodical was neither obscene nor advocating violence, and were forced to continue delivery.

1986 was also the centennial anniversary of the infamous Chicago Haymarket Affair, as well as the 50th anniversary of the Spanish Revolution, both of which led to the call for a continental anarchist gathering. Our Columbia, Missouri group attended the gathering in Chicago, along with three or four hundred others, making it the first of four increasingly massive and exciting gatherings culminating in the San Francisco gathering of 1989. We celebrated the summer of 1986 by co-publishing *Anarchy* #12 with our nearby Kansas friends' *The*



Gentle Anarchist #12, distributing the double-issues to each others' mailing lists. This double-issue, at 24 pages total, was our biggest issue to date, and also the first issue with a contribution from Anti-Authoritarians Anonymous, a simple détourned comic titled "The War of Dreams,"



critical of the political left. It also included our second reprinting of a hard-hitting Bob Black essay. "Let us Prey!" is brilliantly critical of the incoherence of the left in the context of its responses to new-right, Moral Majority-style organizing of the time. Among other things, in "Let us Prey!" Black argued that "A leftist is someone who shoots himself in the foot once he gets it out of his mouth."

We finished up the year with a "Weekly World Anarchy" parody issue (#13), though it's kind of hard to parody something (like the *Weekly World News*) that is already so ridiculous. One of our

cover headlines read: "New study reveals four out of five Americans prefer Violence to Sex: Nine out of ten prefer Slavery to Freedom," while the top banner proclaimed: "Smash the State! Have a Nice Day!" This issue also included a reprint of Murray Bookchin's "Theses on Libertarian Municipalism." Although Bookchin had been lecturing and publishing for over twenty years while identifying himself as an anarchist, his influence had remained peripheral since his primary concern seemed to be with ecological and green politics rather than with any sort of genuinely eco-anarchist approach. His venture into libertarian municipalism appeared intended at least in part as an overture to an anarchist milieu which had largely ignored him—in the context of an increasingly co-opted environmentalism and green political reformism that could no longer be stomachached even by Bookchin. About this time the doyen of the West German Greens, pacifist Petra Kelly, showed up in Columbia for a lecture on the Green Party with her (former-general) partner/sidekick Gert Bastian. With a sensitivity for audience proclivities shown by politicians everywhere, Petra (and Gert, when prodded) gave people a glowing picture of

the German Greens with the usual generalities, refusing any genuinely self-critical analysis. In order to draw out a bit more truthfulness concerning the divisive, anti-radical politics being whitewashed in their presentation, I asked whether the German Greens were showing any solidarity with the Berlin autonomists and squatters (still very active at the time). Green ex-general Bastian was unable to control himself, spitting out in disgust, "They are our *enemies*!" Petra Kelly tried to calm him down and put a slightly more conciliatory face on this conflict, saying that the Greens were quite

willing to work with them, but first the squatters needed to abandon their confrontational tactics. A few years later, in 1992, Kelly and Bastian were both found dead, killed by Bastian's own gun, most likely a murder-suicide.

At this time we began realizing that—as fun as it often was confronting the manifold idiocies and contradictions of local liberals and conservatives, Christians and greens—there would never be a large enough number of local people interested to justify publishing a bimonthly tabloid primarily devoted to this purpose. At the same time the magazine was attracting the attention of more and more radicals from around the country, and even that of anarchists in other countries. Although our original intention was to encourage a dialogue in our letters column with local people, the number of letters from out-of-town kept increasing, while too much of the local response tended towards the brain-dead regurgitation of conservative and/or Christian banalities. How many times is it worthwhile to print and respond to letters urging naive belief in the rotting corpse from Nazareth?

Several changes starting with issue #14 in the Summer of 1987 marked the beginning of a new trajectory for *Anarchy*. The most easily notable was the introduction of some color to the publication's covers, including our first full-color art work by Phil Lollar, which appeared on the back cover of that issue. We increased the number of pages (up to 28 pages with issue #14 and 32 pages with issue #15). We increasingly began asking important, recognized anarchist writers to reprint their work and/or contribute to the magazine: Noam Chomsky's "Intervention in Vietnam and Central America: Parallels and Differences" appeared in #14. We devoted

ed a growing amount of space to a direct dialogue with readers in our letters column. And we published the first piece submitted by the ever-controversial John Zerzan, "Vagaries of Negation," at a time when his contributions were beginning to become less welcome in the *Fifth Estate*, which had been publishing much of his most important work.

The expanding dialogue with *Anarchy* readers was important to me at the time and has remained especially important to me throughout the magazine's life. Open, common space for differing opinions from within and without the anarchist milieu to appear (without censorship or manipulation), be read or heard, and for dialogues to develop, is an essential requirement for the growth of our mutual understanding. Before *Anarchy* was conceived, our means of public communication in Columbia were limited to our personal voices; personal efforts like leafleting, holding signs, postering or graffiti-writing; and writing letters to the local newspaper or other publications. While all of these means of communication have their uses, it didn't take long to discover that the main local daily newspaper (and other publications) would often (arbitrarily) refuse to print letters or would change the wording to make them appear unintelligent or worse.

Beyond the local press, I was somewhat as-



tounded to find various forms of censorship and manipulation throughout much of the more general radical press and the specifically anarchist press from the 1970s to the present. Many times I have personally written letters that have been refused publication, to the point that I seldom bother writing letters anymore, assuming that many—or even most—won't ever appear. I especially recall about this time writing a corrective letter to the semi-libertarian ecological newsletter *Synthesis*, which had published—without any comment—a completely scurrilous accusation from (a local Missouri) would-be green-politician, David Haenke, charging that anarchists have historically committed genocide and now engage in “ecocide.” My letter was apparently refused on the grounds that challenging Haenke's vicious libels would be “a personal attack” and such “attacks” were not allowed in the newsletter!

In another bizarre example, for years I have read *The Match!* and encouraged others to read it and its publisher's other work. But the publisher, Fred Woodworth, has over decades' time taken an increasingly antagonistic attitude towards *Anarchy* magazine—to the point of lately making lunatic charges based on nothing at all that *Anarchy* receives funds from the CIA and/or FBI! Before Woodworth had degenerated to this current level of insanity, Fred acknowledged to me by mail that he would never print any reference to the address of *Anarchy* magazine that might allow readers of *The Match!* who hadn't seen it to make up their own minds about it. And, indeed, no letters that have mentioned the magazine's address have ever seen print in what he bills as “The World's Largest Letters Column”!

In response to a letter I wrote to the Canadian anarchist magazine, *Kick It Over*, supportive of the sex-positive feminist filmmaking of Lizzie Borden (whom KIO had interviewed) and critical of moralizing anti-porn feminism, *Kick It Over* refused publication because “...Men are always trashing feminists for not being radical enough & what you said had been said before” (though certainly not in the censored pages of KIO!

Although not on quite the same level, I've also had recurrent problems with the *Fifth Estate* (FE) regarding letters both in FE and in *Anarchy* magazine. Early on I was amazed to be told that since I'd written two interesting letters to FE between issues I would need to provide two different names for the letters if I wanted them both to be printed! I provided the names while shaking my head in disbelief. Although I've come across a similar phobia for publication of more than one letter from the same person in a single issue in other periodicals I've never been presented anywhere else with FE's novel solution! What has bothered me more about FE has been the recurrent attempts to pressure *Anarchy* magazine to censor letters critical of FE, along with promises that FE would in turn censor criticisms of *Anarchy* in letters to FE (and that FE had already done so)! Of course, this same type of pressure demanding that *Anarchy* magazine censor letters has also come from other places as well over the years, usually from individuals (sometimes prominent anarchist writers and publishers) who seem to be overly-sensitive to public criticism and apparently see no harm in taking away other people's chances to express contrary opinions wherever possible. Having had my own letters censored so often, in most cases for the most inane of reasons, my sympathies lie entirely with free speech and access to letters columns as unfettered as possible in the anarchist milieu. Most participants in the publication of this magazine have agreed with this stance, consistently preferring integrity to censorship, and as a result *Anarchy's* letters column has been consistently one of the most open, honest and responsive in the North American continent and probably anywhere else as well.

Whether because of the ever-popular/ever-hated open letters column, the increasingly colorful covers, the steadily improving design and content and writing, or the consistently honest and irreverent attitude expressed throughout the magazine (or a combination of all of these), its popularity across North Amer-

ica began taking off at this time. The orientation of the magazine was consciously changed from an attempt at a local dialogue to a more outward focus on the national and international radical milieu. Issue #15 in the Winter of 1988 included first attempts at "Alternative Media Review" and "Anarchist Media Review" sections of the magazine featuring a prophetic review of the first issue of *Z Magazine* and a number of anarchist periodical reviews. Along with the encouragement of discussion in the *Anarchy* letters column, this magazine is also justly acknowledged for its now long and effective commitment to promote and provide information on the anarchist press in general. This is currently our 18th year of zine and magazine reviews. And given the consistent scope, accuracy and coverage of our reviews, at this point anyone doing research on the history of the last couple decades of the North American anarchist milieu could do far worse than starting with a survey of the anarchist press in any given year as revealed in *Anarchy* reviews. During the last two decades I can personally attest that no anarchist publication was ever intentionally avoided or ignored. A genuine attempt has consistently been made to comprehensively cover the entire range and breadth of the continental anarchist press, subject only to the limits of our time and the publications interested in sending us their materials.

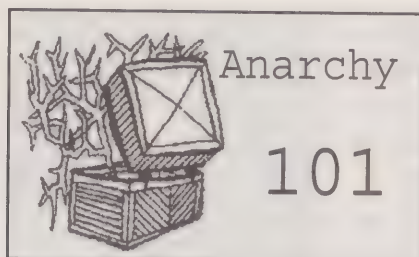
Besides the reviews, issue #15 featured the re-printing and substantial expansion of a previous exchange of articles on anarchy and religion written by Fred Woodworth, Jay Kinney and myself, which had first appeared in several issues of the defunct paper *Strike!* This was the first issue to include an expanded masthead box including the press run (7,000 copies) and a list of magazine staff (9 people at the time) under the heading of "Editorial Advisory Group." With this issue the subscription price doubled from \$3.00 for 6 issues to \$6.00 and a goal of 2,000 subscribers was established in order to turn the magazine into a self-financing project. The following issue (#16) in the summer of 1988, focussed on feminism, sexuality and pornography, along with continu-

ing the discussion of anarchy and religion between Jay Kinney and myself begun in the previous issue.

At this point the *Anarchy* production and editorial collective decided to make a significant change in format for the paper from tabloid newspaper to tabloid magazine in order to make it much more possible to distribute in book shops and on newsstands. Since issue #17 the magazine has focussed primarily on distribution through newsstand sales rather than through our original focus on giving away as many copies as possible in as inventive a way as possible, or our subsequent focus on obtaining enough subscriptions to pay for publication. I had always assumed that it would be nearly impossible to get space on mainstream bookstore shelves, especially on chain bookstore shelves. After all, if it could be done surely someone else would have been doing it!

To be continued...





Work

Groucho : Wages? Do you want to be wage slaves? Answer me that!

Bellhops: No.

Groucho : No, of course not. But what makes wage slaves? Wages!

As this is an introduction to anarchy and the topic is work it would seem obvious that we are going to have an anti-work position. No one likes being told what to do. Work sucks. End of story, right? Not quite.

Anarchy is not about taking arbitrary positions just for the sake of being contrary. It is about priorities. It is about principles. It is framing a conversation about the future in such a way that it is desirable instead of merely plausible.

This is not to say that the anarchist anti-work perspective is not part of our greater concern. This is part of the tradition. We will review it first.

The basic 'anti-work' position usually refers to compulsory work. A job. The logic follows this sort of line: Since anarchists have a political philosophy that extends beyond mere reformation of the system into a deep questioning of the system's foundational aspects every part of an individual's life should be called into question as part of a political practice. If there is a going to be a 'Revolution of Everyday Life™' we have to examine the counter-revolutionary life. That life looks like drudgery. Commuting to a career, under-employment in the service industry, and education as the

quest for higher wages are all the real ways in which people 'work' in the 21st century. All the old fashioned ways of drudgery (repetitive tasks on assembly lines, pulling resources out of holes in the earth, the science of efficiency management, breaking big rocks into little rocks, etc.) still exist too. If these are the choices available to us, and by-and-large in this world they are, then it is easy to understand an inclination against work.

Socialists, of which many anarchists numbers themselves among, have a barely more liberated view of work. They tend to see it as essential (who we are) and not consequential (what we are forced to do) which means that their rhetoric around work is conflated with discussions about social change and human nature. If, as the argument goes, the proletariat (or working person as a class) is the engine for social change then an argument against work is an argument against the proletariat. Therefore most Socialists are not interested in a criticism of work because it is seen as contrary to their project of social change, and of their understanding of people as workers.

Some influential anti-work writing includes Paul Lafargue's *The Right to be Lazy*, Bob Black's *The Abolition of Work*, Raoul Vaneigem's *The Decline and Fall of Work*, and Jim Haynes' *Workers of the World, Unite and Stop Working!*

Another important anarchist tradition, along with an anti-work perspective, is that of anarchist participation in the labor struggles of the late 19th and early 20th century.

Anarchist involvement in the labor movement can be traced to its very beginnings. The International Workingmen's Association (or First International)—formed in 1864—was an organization composed of a

variety of socialist groups and labor unions throughout Europe formed in 1864 and included anarchists. Disagreements between anarchists, who refused to work within the electoral system, and Marxists (led by Karl Marx himself) who were willing to work within electoral politics, led to the dissolution of the First International. Anarcho-Syndicalism (or Anarchist Trade Unionism) believes in workers solidarity, direct action, and self-management. It has been the most activist of anarchist tendencies. Anarcho-Syndicalism has been connected to the social struggles in the United States (mostly through the union Industrial Workers of the World) and Spain (via the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo or CNT).

Anarchist trade unionism has lost much of its momentum, as has the labor movement as a whole. This is related to skilled trades being automated away, shipped to countries with more draconian policies regarding unions, and the cooption of the labor movement. It is arguable, but probable, that because of increasing preparation by the owning classes and lack of class solidarity, workers' power will never have the successes that it was capable of in the early 20th century. This does not stop many anarchists from still seeing this conflict as a central part of their revolutionary practice.

Influential writing from this perspective includes Rudolf Rocker's *Anarcho-Syndicalism*, Gregory P. Maximoff's *Syndicalists in the Russian Revolution*, Sam Dolgoff's *The American Labor Movement - A New Beginning*, and Emile Pouget's *Direct Action*. Modern Anarcho-Syndicalist writings include Arthur J. Miller's *Making Anarchist Revolution Possible*, Brian Oliver Sheppard's *The Anar-*

cho-Syndicalist Answer to Corporate Globalisation, and Tom Wetzel's *The Origins of the Union Shop*.

While many anarchists believe that social change is fundamentally linked to what people do with the majority of their waking hours (compulsory work) exactly what this linkage is remains very much up to debate. Is the conflict between the owners of the means of production and the workers the central factor in future social change? Is the nature of the means of production (industrialism vs. services for example) the fulcrum? Does the casual relationship that many first world workers have to their own labor relate to a deep discontent? All of these questions about perspective, and dozens more, inform the anarchist's strategic relationship to work.

Perhaps a larger perspective shared by anarchists is that work, the labor movement, and production are not going to be the primary impetus to future social change. This is not just because of the failed attempts in the past, or the fact that a self-conscious working class no longer exists, or because of the war of attrition against working people by the owning class. This is because the modernist self-understandings of neighbor-as-friend, self-as-worker, and worker-as-necessary have all been shown false. Class consciousness is pretty rhetoric but isn't likely to become a practical unifying principal anytime soon. Alienation better describes today's experience and is hard to describe as a unifying principle. Social life tends towards common media consumption, and silent shame about how much of daily life is in pursuit of useless products and exorbitant expenses, more than it relates to any shared project.

If there were an anarchist principle about work that most every anarchist

would agree with (an insurmountable task), it would be that work should be a pleasure, it should be non-compulsory and should concern useful activity (like growing food or raising a roof). If we were to talk about a world where this was our understanding of work it would be a very different world indeed. There would be no financial services industry, no military-industrial complex, and no advertising industry as just a few examples. There would be no twelve, eight or even six hour work day. We would no longer measure 'a day's work' as a static quantity. When we had a project, an idea, or a need that we wanted to pursue that is what we would do with our time and we would labor as long as we felt it was appropriate. We would live a life where we made choices based on our needs and desires at a given moment and not a set of arbitrary goals inflicted upon us by others.

As with other visions about an anarchist future this is a qualitative leap from the world we live in today. Whether the relationship with work we want looks like an ecologically sound micro-factory where we and our closest friends build green widgets and sing labor songs all day long or a hunting-and-gathering band of primitivist philosophers it is a far cry from sitting on the Bay Bridge waiting for the Hummer in front of you to turn down their flat-panel television set so that they can tell the bridge attendant that they only carry plastic so you can crawl your way to your shitty desk job. If we are going to radically reevaluate the role that work takes in our social, productive, and spiritual life we are going to have to abolish the way that we work now. This may not look like past efforts at social change. There may be no marches on Washington, or no

speeches on church steps. It may be that social movements in the future look less like unifying for a righteous common goal and more like a shared distaste. Either way an anarchist engagement and critique of work, the politics of work, and the consequences of work on social life will be part of that transformation.



Anarchy, Identity, & Madness

I am not Ben Blue, an obvious pseudonym, any more than I am a nine-digit number assigned by the Social Security Administration, or the name given by my parents at birth. On my first encounter with Lawrence, he asked me two direct questions: "Who are you?" and "What are you doing here?" Today, in relation to *Anarchy* magazine, a purely functional response is "I am the agent of process." and "I act as the liaison between C.A.L. Press and the state of California."

At last year's Bay Area conference bringing together anti-state communists and post-left anarchists, I confessed the true answer to these questions may be "I don't know." I might just as easily assert, as Max Stirner did, "I am not nothing in the sense of emptiness, but I am the creative nothing, the nothing out of which I myself as creator create everything." I've hinted this to Dot Matrix with cryptic utterances such as "I am this prison we perceive", and laughingly ascribed the remark to delusions of grandeur. The first glimmerings of the thought occurred to me in 1991. At that time Dr. Shelley Stettner of

Havenwyck Hospital offered this assessment of my identity:

RESULTS OF ASSESSMENTS AND

SIGNIFICANT FINDINGS: Physical

and Neurological Examination:

Physical examination was done by Doctor Gupta with the finding of history of weight loss, to continue with present plan and he would follow-up for any significant or abnormal laboratory studies.

Psychological Testing: Psychological testing and projectives with full scale IQ of 120. Findings were schizophrenia, paranoid type.

Laboratory Testing: Drug screen was negative. Phosphorous was elevated at 5.1. Urinalysis was unremarkable. EKG showed a normal sinus rhythm with no abnormalities. EKG was normal.

CLINICAL COURSE: This patient participated in all aspects of the adult program including individual and group psychotherapy, social work assessment and intervention, activity therapy, and nursing care and management. This patient, who had been a student at the University of Michigan, began exhibiting grossly disorganized thinking and behavior. He had broken windows at a friend's house. This seemed to have a gradual onset although precipitously increased to the point where the family was taking notice after his roommate from school left for California. The patient had become increasingly more preoccupied with religion, the CIA, and the President of the United States. He was exhibiting unusual logic and unpredictable behavior with poor impulse control. He was making numerous references to death. Where he

had been able to maintain a fairly adequate functioning prior to this year, the first semester classes he failed his first class. He did have some outpatient counseling approximately three years ago. His grandmother had been psychiatrically hospitalized at one time. He was showing markedly regressed behaviors upon admission, urinating in his clothes, frequently taking them off. He felt that he was not going to be leaving the hospital alive.

He was begun on a course of Haldol and this was titrated to a dose for maintenance at 5mg per day. Throughout the beginning part of his hospitalization, we were approaching this patient mainly in a supportive and reality orientation. We did monitor him on a one-to-one basis for some time. He was responding to internal stimuli and was grossly psychotic. As the patient began to stabilize somewhat, he was able to begin talking more about his life at school and particularly his quite conflictual and ambivalent relationships with his parents, primarily his mother. He tended to have highly intellectualized and abstract defenses. His thinking was more organized. There did emerge a somewhat more affective spontaneity. There was no further preoccupations with death or suicidal. The patient was able to have successful pass as well. The family was quite anxious and rather intrusive at times with a tendency to infantilize the patient. He was improving dramatically on a daily basis and was no longer grossly psychotic at the time of discharge. The patient was to continue in the Havenwyck Hospital Day Hospital.

PROGNOSIS: The prognosis for this patient is fair to guarded.

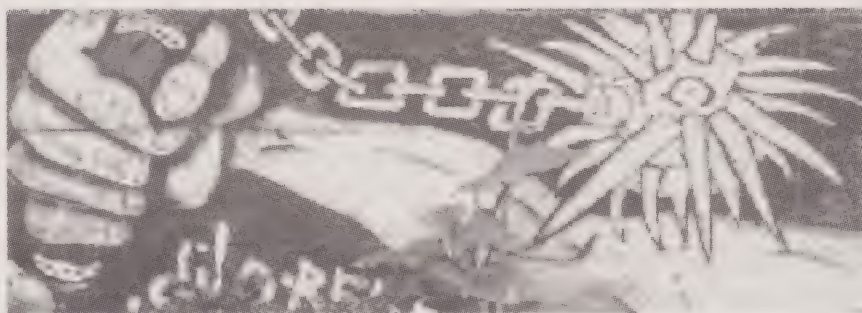
FINAL DIAGNOSIS: Schizophreniform disorder.

Since leaving the hospital, I have learned to re-socialize myself, to don the guise of a sane and productive member of society. To those who can follow an indication beyond words, I'll sometimes offer this story: Once there was a prisoner who escaped from his cell, and the whole complex network of cages, only to discover beyond the prison walls ... nothing. So he disguised himself as a prisoner, sneaked back into the prison, and began to tell his fellow prisoners: "Listen, there's a way to escape."

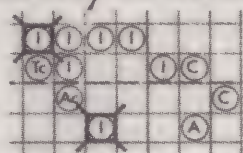
Of course this story is nonsense, and I have no generalized escape plan to offer readers of *Anarchy*. I offer no political program. I'll offer some quotes from George Orwell instead: "We shall get nowhere until we start by recognizing that political behaviour is largely non-rational, that the world is suffering from some kind of mental disease which must be diagnosed before it can be cured." "All issues are political issues, and politics itself is a mass of lies, evasions, folly, hatred and schizophrenia." What I can offer in future columns is an account of the thoughts, feelings, beliefs, and behaviours of an individual human being diagnosed with paranoid schizophrenia. This may prove useful to anarchists as data for formulating theories of identity. I can offer an experiential response to the concept of 'liberatory madness.'

Use my words as a fun house mirror to ask: Who am I? Who are you? What is the relationship between us? How does it differ from the set of relationships that comprise the world? You might dismiss me as irrelevant incoherent confusionist. You might

agree with Wolfi Landstreicher that, coming from me, this column might prove interesting. Perhaps it will clarify what Hakim Bey meant when he wrote that Individual Anarchism and Radical Monism are to be considered henceforth one and the same movement. It may spark a realization, alluded to by Max Stirner and stated clearly by Nisargadatta Maharaj, that the I am is this world materialized out of nothingness, and the knowledge I am is nothing. Nothing binds you to these words, this page, this magazine, this body-mind-world that contains and constrains.



Anarchy & Strategy



by Aragorn!

The Politic of the Mass

As stated in our previous column the political composition of the Mass Movement Model of Social Change is our topic this time. The goal is to evaluate the strategic consequences of the Mass Model within the context of how it applies to an anarchist politic. If the Mass Model is the most prevalent form of radical practice today then an analysis of its consequences and appropriateness for anarchists is paramount. Our question this time is simple: what are the anarchist politics of the Mass Model?

Our process in approaching this question is to make two orthogonal arguments and then draw a conclusion that fits the question.

Argument 1: The Mass Model is, simply put, the attempt to create a foundationally (or fundamentally)

democratic organization that can both remove the (authoritarian) system currently in power and establish a new society that reflects the needs of all of its constituents instead of just the rich and powerful. The Mass Model is a model for democratic social change. What does democracy mean in this context? Does it mean representative democracy (where everyone can be involved in deciding who gets to decide)? Does democracy only limit itself to the legislative process while allowing other organizational models to flower in other contexts (like enforcement and exchange relations)?

The best examples of the Mass Model over the past 40 years are the Civil Rights Movement and the Anti-Globalization Movement. The CRM was only nominally democratic. Groups like SCLC and SNCC set a great deal of the agenda; they were not elected and reflected the values of their constituents far more than any shared value called civil rights that they aspired to. Their democracy was, at best, in the equality (or access to the level of democracy that existed in the society at large) that they were trying to bring to their targeted communities and not in the mechanisms they were using to achieve them.

The Anti-Globalization Movement has attempted to use democratic principles of organization with a primarily negative agenda. The AGM is an

umbrella term that refers to the dozens (if not hundreds) of groups and actions that protest the consequences of global capitalism. The AGM often uses consensus decision making (a radically democratic way to make decisions), generally organizes in a grassroots manner, and has successfully applied democratic principles in high-stress situations (like the mass protests that it is best known for).

To the extent that there is a political pedigree (or historical precursor) to the Mass Model it is democratic. The flavor of it has varied over time but the aspirations have always targeted Democracy as the end goal.

Is anarchism radical (or direct) democracy? It is not. Even granting an understanding of democracy founded on its Greek origins you still had a method of governance that involved an assembly of all its constituents. Greek democracy was a legislative system that all male citizens had the ability to participate in. Anarchism, if we were to rely on dictionary definitions, is a form of governance without legislative, judicial, or executive bodies. A form of governance where everyone is invited to legislate is still one with these bodies (sorry Parecon). It therefore cannot be said that the Mass Model is anarchist.

Argument 2: To define anarchism is to kill it. It creates yet-another-ideology with which to suffocate dreams. Our question should not be whether or not something 'is' anarchist, but how

exactly are we practicing anarchy while aspiring towards the dissolution of this society.

If anarchism represents the ultimate heterodox position, then it should reasonably be found in every political movement. There are just as likely closeted anarchists in the Republican party (possibly believing that no one could be closer to the throat of The Man) as in your local Copwatch. The vision of a society without government and capitalism is not so unique or sophisticated as to need protectors of the faith. If anything should be protected it is the trust of anarchists to know what they are doing.

Over the past 150 years every time there is rebellion it desires going 'all the way'. To the extent that anarchists have participated in rebellion they have always been on the front lines. If what rebellion looks like today is the aggregation of people into a scale capable of challenging institutional power then why wouldn't anarchists be involved?

If the Mass Model is the most likely way to transform society or if it is the only formal strategic approach to that transformation, then the better question would be "What isn't anarchist about the Mass Model?"

Conclusion: It is a big question whether or not to evaluate the things that people are doing in the world with an articulated political filter. Events 'on the ground' often do not map to the words of thinkers from the past, nor should they. Challenging static (or ideological) thinking is often at odds with holding deep and nuanced convictions.

It may be that the answer to the questions about whether there is an anarchist politic of the Mass Model is more about questions of ethics and success. Living ethically most likely does not involve knocking over stat-

ues and heads of state. These things can be ethically justified but it's a bit of a laborious process that likely involves calling higher principles into service. Success is largely defined subjectively. If the larger discussion is about Anarchist Strategy it's pretty difficult to avoid a definition of success that doesn't look like eliminating the Technocratic Capitalist Republic (i.e. the Totality) that we currently live in.

The tension in the politics of the Mass Model is not so much with the idea that the transformation of this world should involve the consent of the vast majority of its constituents, but with the mechanisms by which that transformation is going to occur and how consent is going to be garnered. If social change necessitates a level of participation with the current political system that is indistinguishable from those who actually do not want social change, then you have a problem. If the coalitions that you have to build are mostly containers holding (future) politicians and political functionaries, employees of non-profits (who get unpaid time off for 'grassroots work'), and college students, then you will have a hard time arguing either your representative or negotiating power with authority (since you do not actually contain your constituency). This will not stop the arguments from happening but they will be in the vacuum of a social space where most of the assumptions, class background, and terminology are already shared.

The tension with the politics of anarchism is with its dual nature. Anarchism is both the most libertine of positions (politically and ethically) and a specific political tendency with history, heroes, villains, concrete positions, and question marks. By being both an ethic and a politic anarchism

is usually only successful at being the recourse of sloppy thinking. But anarchy is not solipsism. It is not just a retreat for loners, a flag for rebels, or an excuse to dress in black and break windows. It is all of these things and the possibility for much more.

There is a strategic flaw in asking the question What is the anarchist politic of the Mass Model? As with anarchist politics in general the assumption within the question is a minoritarian one. Since we are a microscopically small tendency; we should only understand ourselves as part of or within other practices. This solidifies our position as both morally superior (because we don't soil ourselves in practice or in believing in what we are doing) and politically irrelevant. The better question may be How could anarchists develop their mass appeal? This positions the question quite differently and makes an assumption that may be more attractive to anarchists. Anarchists have more to lose in their choice of associates than they have to gain by the appearance of mass appeal. Anarchist participation in, for instance, the Anti-Globalization Movement has been far more exciting because of the ways in which anarchists have shaped it, than in the alleged relationships we have built with the World Social Forum, ANSWER, and the Peoples' Global Action network.

Next time we are going to examine the specific strategic conclusions offered by the Mass Model. We are going to evaluate them along the lines of their own logic, along several definitions of success, and as an anarchist strategy. It's probable that we will still have a bit more to say about the Mass Model after an initial strategic assessment, but eventually we are going to move on to a detailed review of the Leninist family of strategic models.



Have something to say?

WRITE US

We encourage thoughtful participation in this dialogue, whether you are sympathetic to or critical of anarchist theories and practices. All mailed letters will be printed with the author's name, city and state or country only, unless you specifically state that your address should be used, that only initials should be used, or that you wish to remain completely anonymous. If you e-mail us, we will print your e-mail address unless you ask us not to.

When necessary we will edit letters for redundancy, length, illegibility and/or death threats. (Ellipses in italicized brackets [...] indicate an edit.)

We will not edit for typos, and other inaccuracies.

Please limit length to *three* double-spaced, typewritten pages or 1,500 words. Address letters to C.A.L. Press, PO Box 3448, Berkeley, CA 94703 or to editor@anarchymag.com.

Dear Anarchy:

Iain McKay has either forgotten what I originally wrote or hopes that everybody else has. McKay has previously demonstrated his acute anarchist judgment by earning the nickname Dolly II as the cloned Scottish sheep of Stewart Home, who claims that all anarchists are Nazis. McKay says he is not afraid of criticism. Let me see if I can change his mind about that.

In my review of "the Platform," I described as "of course untrue" the claim that class struggle gave birth to the idea of anarchism; it came not, states the Platform, "from the abstract reflections of an intellectual or a philosopher." I mentioned some well-known facts about Proudhon, Bakunin and Kropotkin to support a contrary opinion which should not be controversial.

In reply, Dolly II bleats that I "appropriat[ed]" my arguments from Lenin's *What Is to be Done?* McKay has obviously never read Lenin, which would also explain why he does not understand why Platformism is Leninist. Lenin was discussing socialism, not anarchism. He thought that socialist "consciousness could

only be brought to them from without. The history of all countries shows that the working class, exclusively by its own efforts, is able to develop only trade-union consciousness." Lenin's opinion of anarchism, expressed elsewhere, is that it is a petit-bourgeois ideology. Unlike Lenin and McKay, I know that anarchism did not originate in the Group Mind of any social class.

In all his thousands of words of tendentious, pretentious, whimpering drivel, Dolly II has never identified the *time* and *place* at which the working class conceived of anarchism. Was it "once upon a time"?

McKay is indignant that I mention that the author of a Platform criticized as too Bolshevik - Peter Arshinov -- should, seven years later, revert to his original Bolshevism, return to the USSR and support the dictatorship. This, he says, is "a case of guilt by association and unworthy of rational debate" which is Dolly II's way of evading awkward facts and arguments. Here is a weird misunderstanding of what guilt by association is. It refers to "guilt ascribed to a person not because of any evidence but because of his

or her association with an offender" (*The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*). Here there is evidence: first, Arshinov's original Bolshevism; second, the Platform itself; third, the voluntary return to the Stalinist state; and forth, the publishing of pro-Soviet propaganda targeted at anarchists.

Self-styled Platformists, McKay relates, "are inspired by aspects of the Platform while rejecting other parts of it." How convenient. Dolly II does not actually say what parts of the Platform are inspirational for, and what parts are rejected by contemporary Platformists (because of this coy picking and choosing, Jason McQuinn aptly labels them Neo-Platformists). In this way they suppose they can claim a historic pedigree for what was in fact a unique and universally condemned aberration. In my review I already excused Neo-Platformists from adherence to the Platform's program for the peasantry, since it no longer exists. More telling, a central Platformist strategy is the infiltration of revolutionary syndicalist trade unions. Unfortunately, there are no revolutionary trade unions. The Platform did not counsel or con-temple the infiltration of business unions of the AFL-CIO type, but there are no other unions in the United States and Canada, at least. The Neo-Platformist group NEFAC is organizing re-cruiting for them anyway.

Turning to the actual edition of the Platform that I reviewed, from the Workers Solidarity Movement (Ireland), it remarks feebly that the Platform "is not a perfect programme now" and it "has its weaknesses," but the group refrains from identifying any imperfections or weaknesses. Dolly II does

not identify any either.

What Neo-Platformists most value in the Platform must be the model of a vanguard revolutionary organization - the only novelty in the Platform, the Leninist im-port, an idea alien to even the most organizationally minded anarcho-syndicalists and -communists, because everything else is available elsewhere. That is why the Platform was denounced even by such pro-organizational anarchists as Malatesta and Fabbri. It is a sign of the cynicism or ignorance of the Neo-Platformists that the NEFAC website opens with a Malatesta quotation calling for anarchist organization, without of course any indication that Malatesta was the most prominent critic of Platformism.

I am accused of falsification of the Platform for repeating passages quoted in Voline *et al.*, "Concerning the Platform for an Organization of Anarchists." It turns out that these quotations were taken (unknown to me) not from the Platform itself but from the "Supplement to the Organizational Platform (Questions and Answers) November 2, 1926" reprinted as Document No. 3 in Alexandre Skirida, *Facing the Enemy*. Skirida is not only a Platformist, he's the son of Platformist Ida Mett! (although he dishonestly conceals this fact). I will use his translations of the passages the Voline group quoted.

Here's the one about coercion: "...with regard to their decisions relating to the various realms [?] of economic and social life, the soviets of the workers' and peasants' organizations or the factory committees will see to those, not through violence or decrees but rather through common accord with the toiling masses who

will be taking a direct hand in the making of those decisions. *Those decisions, though, will have to be binding upon all who vote for and endorse them*" [emphasis added].

I suspect that Skirda has edited out the part about sanctions being applied to those who reject these decisions, but coercion is already implicit in this language. Having read books by both, I trust Voline more than Skirda.

Concerning freedom of the press, Skirda's version is in substance identical to what I quoted: "However, there may be specific circumstances when the press, or, rather, abuse of the press, may be restricted on grounds of revolutionary usefulness." So the quotations were true, not false. McKay's contrary statement is false, not true.

Following the above quotation (in another translation) I wrote: "The critics [i.e., Voline *et al.*] ask: controlled by whom? They voice other objections, including objections to the defense of the revolution by a centralized regular army. Ten years later, the issue was posed in Spain between the revolutionary militias and the counter-revolutionary People's Army." Dolly II takes this to be a denunciation of the Russian Platformists of 1926 for not taking into account the Spanish anarchist experience of 1936-1939.

Dolly II is dumb even for a sheep. The point is not what the Russian exiles could have learned by time travel, the point is what *we know now* from the Spanish experience. The revolutionary militias defended an anarchist revolution even more far-reaching than Makhno's, and less reliant on a generalissimo. But the statist republicans (including the Stalinists) incorporated the militias into

a People's Army under centralized control, *exactly* what the Platform prescribes after the initial rising of the people, and this led to the defeat of the revolution and also defeat in the civil war. Although the Spanish anarchists were not Platformists (nobody was), their tragic defeat verified the critiques of the military part of the Platform. The Platformists called for a "common command" and an authoritarian formal army. Their critics in the 1920s likewise did not know, obviously, what would happen in Spain in 1936-1939. But the Spanish experience proved that they were right and the Platformists were wrong.

McKay invokes, as holy, all the great names of classical anarchism (Proudhon, Bakunin, Kropotkin, Malatesta, Goldman, Berkman, Makhno, etc.) in defense of Platformism without *even once* citing any evidence that any of them, except Makhno, advocated anything like the vanguard organization espoused by the Platform. And he did so in the face of the fact that Voline, Malatesta, Goldman, Berkman, Nettlau, Fabbri, Berneri - all the notable anarchists when the Platform was promulgated - denounced it. This is not a matter of "post-leftist" deviation from anarchist orthodoxy. On this point the post-leftists are orthodox and the Platformists are the heretics, although I would choose other words and simply say that McKay and the Platformists are not even close to being anarchists.

Nor is it a matter of antagonism or indifference toward the working class. Actually, if I'm a "post-leftist" - I've asked around and haven't identified an earlier use of the phrase - I am quintessentially focused

on work, for I am the author of "The Abolition of Work." But the leftist workerists like McKay always suppress and sometimes denounce (as Jon Bekken did) the scandalous prospect of the abolition of work, because the abolition of work implies the abolition of workers and then there will be no workers for the anarchist organizers to organize. As for how this might play out in practice, see my review in *Anarchy* #51 of the *Manual for Revolutionary Leaders* by "Michael Velli" (Fredy Perlman).

I am amused that Dolly II should claim Murray Bookchin's "Listen, Marxist!" (in *Post Scarcity Anarchism*, 1971) for organizational/workerist anarchism. In that essay Bookchin does not espouse revolutionary organization or, for that matter, anarchism. He denounces vanguard organizations such as Leninists and Platformists espouse. And in the essays on the French May days of 1968 in the same book he expressly repudiates class analysis and class struggle - to an extent that I find unwarranted. Bookchin has always ignored anarcho-workerist organizations such as the IWW, the Anarchist-Communist Federation, Love & Rage, and now NEFAC. In *Social Anarchism or Lifestyle Anarchism* (1996) he reversed course on his 30-odd (very odd) years as an anarchist by upbraiding "lifestyle anarchists" for agreeing with him about organization.

Bookchin, of course, has now renounced anarchism, just as his critics predicted - just as Arshinov renounced anarchism, just as *his* critics predicted. McKay has already renounced the substance of anarchism, just as NEFAC has. I can only encourage them to make it of-

ficial, because their anarchist pretensions only perpetuate (because they confirm!) anti-anarchist prejudices which impede genuine anarchist activity.

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Dear AJODA,

Your readers may have been amused by another example of the bogus 'more in sadness than anger' act that pseudo-Green Anarchist editor Steve Booth has been puffing on since he excluded himself from our project in early-2001 (AJODA #57, p.76). Anyone who's read his diatribe (sorry, 'analysis'), *Primitivism: An Illusion With No Future*, (free off the Net) will know his true feelings. It contradicts itself from page to page, includes such transparent misstatements of fact as describing John Zerzan (author of *The Catastrophe of Postmodernism*) as 'postmodernist,' and is written with the unremitting tone of pettiness and personal rancour that typifies the ex-revolutionary.

Steve's self-styled 'split' happened because my then-partner had to be 'an agent' simply because she was American, a charge so unsubstantiated and laughably paranoid he refuses to restate it in public for fear of ridicule. This is typical of the conspiratorial world view that is Planet Steve and with which much of his zine is still riddled. He quotes his latest self-authored issue to dress his anti-Americanism up as anti-imperialism, but the same extended article also describes Americans as fat, stupid and uncultured, stock stereotypes of the reac-

tionary nostalgic, anti-modernist, inter-war Canterbury Tales world that never was Steve inhabits.

As Steve is now claiming the real reason for his 'split' was 'method,' let's look at what his 'pragmatic... approach' means in practice. He's vocal about what he's against – any explicit refusal of the totality of our oppressions and alienations – but vague about what he's for, which may be the same 'by increments' (typically adding up to nothing) or it may be less than that which implies he irrationally supports retaining oppression and alienation in some forms but not others. I suspect the former, but it is Steve that appeals 'from the sidelines' to reformist groups like the Green Party and peacenik lobbies to make specific reforms to their already reformist programmes – more recycling, more peace, more 'niceness,' etc. Of course, because it's about 'selling by degrees,' all this has the same insincere tone as his last letter, presenting a certain tailored-to-match image to build influence, the meat and drink of petty politics, Leftist or otherwise. Of course. Steve is kidding himself again, a fly perched on an elephant mistaking him-self for its mahout. If the big reformists notice him at all, it's as a convenient example of 'revolutionary failure' reaffirming their own dead-end politics. Most that care can't believe the author of 'The Irrationalists' isn't still hiding that agenda or, if not, that someone so fickle and fallen so low wouldn't be a liability anyway.

Whilst Steve's contact with activist politics is limited to pretending to be vegetarian to occasionally flog his paper on animal rights marches – 'mugs and jug' propaganda addressed to

those that already know it all (and more than its sole author) – ours provides an authentic uncensored forum for that milieu, by and for those involved. If the 'original and best GA' is supposedly a 'monologue of the dead,' it at least has the advantage of being written by a collective and has triple the circulation of Steve's spoiler publication, showing readers prefer an honest non-manipulative direct ap-proach and which – DIY-style – preserves a sense of humour and makes no pretensions to being authoritative. There are 101 reformist Green, vaguely libertarian publications, but only one GA (not counting Steve's, of course, as his constant appeals for political lobbies, new 'fairer' laws and for workers and bosses to 'just get along,' etc, are hardly anarchist).

We editors do not publicise our names and addresses because we're still doing what got GA editors nicked for incitement at the GAndALF trial. Steve writes from his home address, contemptibly using his own name and others, because he has dropped direct action reporting almost entirely as upsetting to his reformist target audience. Frankly, the authorities are unthreatened by calls for Greener packaging and renationalisation of the railways, etc. Typically, despite knowing this, Steve still criticises us for insisting on our anonymity.

Permit me to end with fewer words in response to Steve's pal Michel Prigent (another preferring 'wine to Coca Cola') than his response to me – just think of it as the comic relief. It took him twenty years to realise (in posthumous letters) that Guy Debord thought him a buffoon and only two years to realise (thanks to my last letter) that

John Moore thought so too. Amusingly, Michel doesn't deny thinking Grace Jones a man, just that he discussed it with John. This is entirely consistent with someone that uncritically distributes conspiracy codswallop like the Gemstone File, tracts about who 'really' killed Nicole Simpson if OJ didn't and his discredited 'John Zerzan and the Primitive Confusion' that incoherently flip-flops between lauding Debord and accusing others of merely aspiring to such plaudits, of accusing John Z of using academic sources and then using them (in-eptly), and making *ad hominum* attacks that merely reveal ignorance of their objects true tastes. Such is the integrity of the UK's anti-AP.

Yours, for the destruction of Civilisation,
John Connor

The 'original and best' GA
BCM 1715, London, WC1N3XX.
UK. 24th March, 2004.



Anarchy magazine,

In issue #57 Lawrence Jarach reproves Peter Staudenmaier for supposedly using a straw man argument to portray the post-left anarchy perspective. Jarach even asks out loud (p. 61): "Who are these phantoms who continue to swirl in and around the mind of PS?" On a similar note, Jason McQuinn wonders (p. 63): "Who are these 'anarchists drawn to the post-left label' that he [PS] is speaking of? Once again, we'll never know if they exist anywhere besides Staudenmaier's imagination because he never even gives us a hint about who they are". I am hereby putting forward the claim that I am in the position to provide such

a hint (albeit an obvious one) myself, one which shows that these post-left anarchists are *not* consubstantial to Staudenmaier's imagination; ergo, they are not phantoms.

Staudenmaier claimed (p. 55) that "the post-leftists cannot agree among themselves on even the most basic conceptual matters". Now, on p. 59 Jarach (referring to the slogan "neither left nor right") states: "No post-left anarchist I know of uses this slogan [...] Those 'third position' nitwits are trying to be clever and shrewd, and their success among anarchists is only an indication of how desperately weak the 'third position' is and how stupid anarchists can be". However, on p. 54 (of the same issue) we see that the last section of McQuinn's article is titled: "Post-Left Anarchy: Neither Left Nor Right, but Autonomous". In the words of Karl Marx: "Let him who can, understand".

A.G. Urbana, IL

PS: On p. 65 McQuinn notes that: "The Situationist International, of course, encouraged this critique [of everyday life], but its members were contemptuous of the left, so it can't count here". Would McQuinn have his readers believe, then, that the Situationists were anarchists? Has he not read theses 91-94 of Debord's "Society of the Spectacle"?

Lawrence responds:

Putting oneself forward as being "in the position to provide such a hint" and then saying absolutely nothing of any substance concerning the topic at hand is the height of irrelevance. You can present yourself as a post-left anarchist; I don't particularly care. But if you somehow embody any of the fantasies that Staudenmaier puts forth in his own bad faith

pseudo-analysis, then I'm also not particularly interested in your brand of post-left anarchy. In terms of the "neither left nor right" tussle, I said—and you have quoted—quite clearly that it has not been used as a slogan. Not to be too nitpicky, but a slogan is quite different from the heading for a section of an essay. A slogan is meant to stand on its own, fitting nicely on a bumpersticker. It is put to its best use in advertising. The use of a phrase within an essay has an actual context. By way of serious contrast, a slogan cannot have any context; it is meaningless. Almost as meaningless as your decontextualized political self-identification. I stand by my statement. Neither Jason nor any other post-left anarchist has used the phrase as a slogan. In the words of Moe Howard: "Five hundred bucks?! Who do we have to murder?"

Jason responds:

Out of thin air and with no attempt at any explanation, A.G. asks:

"Would McQuinn have his readers believe, then, that the Situationists were anarchists?" Of course not! In thirty years of publishing I have never suggested anything of the sort. The illogic of A.G.'s remark is astounding, and seems only to be related to the consistent refusal of leftists to address any actual points of the post-left critique, instead substituting the incredibly lame defense of sowing never-ending confusion. Why is it that leftists seem so incapable of talking about anything of any substance?



Lately, I have been considering my position on the anarchist movement or just anarchy in general. I find that it is something that I am taking more serious with each passing day. I've been reading a lot of texts both in hardcopy and online. Some

of the deeper ideas regarding syndicalism, primitivism and other forms of anarchy are becoming clearer.

I want to do something now. I had plans to open an infoshop in Scranton, pa. Those ideas fell through. Lack of income, not enough people getting involved, and things of that nature that usually prevent a project from seeing the light of day took over.

Now I find myself saying, "I'm an anarchist. So what do I do to fight the system?" Well, what do I do? I don't remember the exact quote, but it was from the axiom "apathy and privilege" LP where mike antipathy says that being an anti-racist won't save an Iraqi babies legs from getting blown off. He also comments on how being anti-homophobic and anti-sexist is not enough to change things. He talks about taking action.

That's my current issue. For starters, im taking the time to write a column for one of my favorite magazines and telling the world how I feel about certain issues in my life. I'm trying to reach out in my area. I'm attempting to take action. I'm interested in organizing youth, local punks, concerned citizens, or at least people that may be interested in radical politics. I want to make a difference in my area. There is nothing here. I really want to make the changes possible that I want to see. I wanted for a long time to move to the big city like Allentown, Scranton, or Philadelphia. I could get involved with critical mass or food not bombs.

I figured I would be a hypocrite if I claimed social change activist and I moved to the big city to join a collective instead of creating the wanted changes myself. True, I do need to leave the area, but I want to leave knowing that I did something positive and not leave everything a mess.

Back to the anarchist idea, I very much want to organize a collective. Its funny how I am just beginning to meet people with similar ideas and I live out in the middle of nowhere. Most of the people like myself never are seen in public, and when they are, its for short periods of time. They sit inside and create or dwell in the apathy of the area and don't attempt to look for comrades.

Im actually now trying to reach out to people that I think maybe interested in forming a collective, as well as people who aren't "converted" I am in the process of organizing a food not bombs. I'm also trying to find people that want to meet and have a discussion group. It's cool that there are a small handful of people who know who Emma Goldman or Pierre Joseph Proudhon. I want to know more people who are familiar with these thinkers.

My goal is to inform people. How am I going to meet these people if I don't turn them on? How can I not get pissed when people say anarchy is about bomb throwing and "the anarchist cookbook", if I don't have proper conversations educating them about these issues? How can only a few socially conscience youth change a whole county in Pennsylvania? Ive often been accused of being a cult member, when sharing some of my anarcho newspapers with non-anarchists.

Recently, I have become involved with livejournal.com. I find that there are a lot of punks, anarchists, creative types and offbeat people of all identities. It's interesting how many people you can meet from your area. Infoshop.org forums are cool as well.

The livejournal scene seems to really be popular among fellow offbeat types. There are many crimethinc

kids and anarchists of all stripes, including green, which I guess shouldn't come as much of a surprise. If you have a live journal, look me up. My user name is falling icarus.

Anyway, I really am getting underway to organize a food not bombs in my area. Although I come from small town, it might not seem that there is much call for a food not bombs, there is always a call against consumerism, war, poor distribution of wealth and services. If you live in northeast penn and want to give me a holler with some ideas or want to help organize something, I beg you to contact me. I need all the help that I can get in the war against apathy. Other things that I would like to organize are an anarchist/radical newspaper, anti-racist action chapter, pirate radio, a wimmins group, or anything that you want to suggest. I do know that I will have a hard time getting all the above-mentioned programs organized on my own. I live between the Lehigh Valley and the Wilkes-Barre/Scranton areas in Northeastern Pennsylvania. If the cities of Hazleton, Allentown, Jim Thorpe, and Tamaqua sound familiar, please get in touch. Even if they don't, get in touch. Help me to expand the anarchist movement in unknown areas. Pennsylvania, please help me out. This is so important to me.

In solidarity and struggle
Stu

artcriminal@riseup.net
tamaqua, penn
p.s. email me first as I may be traveling!



If anarchy were to engulf our nation, the law would be vigilantes and bounty hunters. No matter what, you would still have some kind of law and order.

Let me tell you my experience as a short lived bounty hunter, but first let's talk about Dog the Bounty Hunter. I have been watching A&E's Dog the Bounty Hunter and not too many people know this, but anyone can be a bounty hunter. All you have to do is go to your nearest US Post Office and snatch a wanted poster from the wall and do your own investigation, make a civilian's arrest and voila... you're now an official bounty hunter. When I was an MP in the Army, I was all gung-ho on the law enforcement theme of life and when I got out, I took the test for the Sacramento County Sheriff's Department in which I passed and took the State Correctional Officer test in which I passed. I got placed on a large list and the freeze hit and I wasn't called on for any of the positions. Being impatient, I contacted the Sacramento County Sheriff's Department and they had a bounty out for a drug dealer in the Greenhaven/Sacramento area. I made some connections and made the bust for them, in which I received the bounty money. Later on I went into the Army again and went Military Intelligence, it wasn't until I came out of the Army again that I confronted the friends of the person I busted in a nightclub called Charlie Browns. This was 12 years later. The friends of the person I busted surrounded me and busted a few beer bottles over my head. I thought to myself, I got myself in this situation for a few measly dollars. I wish Dog the best of luck,

but I have no desire of ever doing the bounty hunter thing again...and I only did one bounty gig.
Sincerely yours,
Paul Dale Roberts
JazmaPika@cs.com



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Anarchy = criminal feudalism (it's just what happens) Any organized effort against any organized body is inconsistent to the fundamentality of anarchism and by virtue of the concerted act itself or even going through the effort of creating a publication in an organized routine is inconsistent with and negates any argument of claim of being anarchistic...because... in the attempt to influence you are pushing an agenda of conformity to anarchy which is inconsistent with the logic of your...verbigeration... not to mention it's just intellectually dishonest. duty to humanity is not abstract, everyone's actions and cultural choices have consequences, helpful or hurtful. it's tangible physical reality. a dynamic of human survival.

LB responds:

I appreciate the urgency that encouraged you to send us 37 copies of the exact same postcard.

The point you make about the conflict between having your own agenda and living with other agendas is definitely an ongoing issue in anarchy. While there is an argument to be made that organization is not actually counter to anarchy, perhaps it is more to the point to remember that we don't aspire to purity.



In the article "Anarchists have Forgotten their Principles" Lawrence Jarach unfairly portrays Noam Chomsky as having "thrown his weight behind Kerry." Chomsky's position, Mr. Jarach believes, is a great example of how anarchists have lost their ways and have succumb to the pantomime of national elections.

While it is true that our elections are in many ways farcical, it is not true that Noam Chomsky has forgotten his anarchist principles and threw his weight behind Kerry.

While Mr. Chomsky did indeed say that Kerry would be better than Bush, he also said that the elections are "highly personalized quadrennial extravaganzas" that warrant about five minutes of our attention, and that we should quickly return to "the serious work of opposing both evils."

A. P.



Noted the call for feedback & here's mine.

I find myself mainly concerned about the general vibe of what looks to me like AAJODA's method, at least since it got its slick covers and smaller size. Back when it was all newsprint and "over-sized" I recall deeper speaking, which I was most deeply moved by & which I've continually sought, with little reward in subsequent issues (except in the very important letter section, at times).

The old mag took more radical positions more often, as well. Not only jumping on ideas already started by leftists, the old mags dared to jump out with quite radical truths alone & then seemed

to have much more success with others interaction later.

Also, need to spend more time on visions, while taking care, of course, to avoid becoming leaders!

Another big concern I have had with AAJODA (& anarchist method in general) is the orientation, like every other current political articulation/method or ideology I've seen, is a seeming commitment not toward realizing the value of radical empathy but towards agit-prop ways of continuing 'us vs. them' mobilizations.

I mean, I just don't see the value of perpetuating entrenched dichotomies! It seems to me that there is a grey area that has got to be radically explored & pulled from the dung heap of perpetual war-struck societies. Of course there's a rationale for this state of affairs, but to me, demystification & keeping doors open to individuals wanting to escape such stupidity as war, & ideology, & general alienation is key and AAJODA ought to be far out in front! Hell, to evolve beyond Left/Right is nothing! They are obsolete methods that only "work" on people whom have been isolated & warred on (subtly and openly). The tell-tale motion of millions to not vote tells us that these millions want more meaning, not the same old bullshit.

Other topics that need thorough demystification: propaganda (especially from J. Ellul's perspective), and so-called "mental illness." And how about a column for we self-theorists out here?!? Carlosity Rare Bird
Portland OR



Dear AJODA,

I fully agree with Jason's critique of compulsory morality. I would, however, like to bring up a few points to defend Marx against the reproach of being a moralistic humanist, and conversely, take the thankless role of the moralist myself.

As Giorgio Colli, editor of Nietzsche's collected works, once remarked: In Nietzsche you can find virtually any thought – and its exact opposite. A similar caveat applies when it comes to interpreting Marx. It should be redundant to point out that it was rather the various epigones who turned his ideas into the dogmatic and reified formulae that go under the name of Marxism and which are rightly criticized by anarchists these days. But even if you focus on his original works, you are confronted with ambiguities that caused some commentators to speak of a "double Marx." On the one hand you have the guy who naturalizes labor, favors industrialism and the development of the productive forces, and whose flirtations with the objectivism of the natural sciences makes him come up with a deterministic theory of history. On the other hand, Marx distinguishes himself as an unyielding critic of any fetishization, reification, and essentialism, who is constantly attacking bourgeois values and norms, even denouncing the whole system of morals as ideological. Take for instance his early article *On the Jewish Question*. Marx appears as a fervent and often polemical critic of the idea of human rights, not only emphasizing the capitalist context they are derived from, but more importantly condemning their abstract ideal of Humanity. Later he graphically summa-

rizes this critique as "man is no abstract being squatting outside the world," and in the *Theses on Feuerbach*, he explicitly states: "But the essence of man is no abstraction inherent in each single individual. In reality, it is the ensemble of the social relations. Feuerbach, who does not enter upon a criticism of this real essence is hence obliged ... to abstract from the historical process ... and to presuppose an abstract – isolated – human individual." Remember that these articles were written well before Stirner's *The Ego and Its Own* came out, when Marx should still be following – according to Jason – a naïve moralistic humanism. But it is the very concepts of humanism and moralism that Marx wanted to attack, turning to the actual, concrete, living persons and the analysis of the social and historical conditions that were and are responsible for their misery. Because of his quarrels with the Social Democrats, he even felt the need to sharply dissociate his critique of capitalism from any form of vulgar-dogmatic – and this precisely meant: moralizing – critique.

Why all this philological splitting of hairs, you might ask, to defend an old geezer whose bad reputation in the anarchist milieu can be taken as an iron law? I think his theory might offer some strategies to cope with the question of morality without falling into the trap of abstractly denying compulsory morality in favor of an equally ideological "living without morality." As a rule of thumb, you could say that if you simply reverse an ideological sentence, the result will also be of an ideological nature. Marx's answer would consist in the use of immanent critique as a

theoretical tool. This means you have to make use of internal contradictions and cannot rely on any external principles of judgement. Immanent critique reflects the fact that our ways of thinking are deeply contaminated with what we are trying to overcome. If you simply reverse the prevailing ideology, you fall prey to the illusion that you have reached a point outside of it, while in reality you stay well within its particular logic. It should be self-evident that we don't have a safe and firm external point (think of a transcendent, ahistorical truth such as "god" or "humanity") from which we could criticize the status quo. Working from within and from our historically situated position, we can recognize what is wrong (the real existing destruction of our "humanity," capitalist exploitation of labor, heteronormativity, consumption of animals, etc.) but should abstain from trying to determine the rules of a right life. A right life will only be possible if all aspects and causes of our alienation are abolished. But this cannot be an excuse to denounce all attempts to put one's morals into practice as "lifestyle moralism." I have a deep mistrust towards any cold and objectifying theorization about why capitalism is maybe not such a good idea. Most of us have a burning moral indignation in our hearts which fuels our powerless struggles against this overpowering enemy: We know that the situation is wrong and fucked up and must be changed. I consider this moral impulse as a necessary condition of any political activity, but this alone won't get us very far and could also be misled into shortsighted and moralistic practice. It is an aporetic

situation, but I don't see any other way out of it than to pursue the radical overthrow of this system that is reproducing our alienation and – at the same time – to live our relations with friends, affiliates, and the world that surrounds us in a way that tentatively anticipates a society free of domination. This, as Jason might object, is a moral stance, but one I am not willing to compromise.

martin lejeune
Hamburg

Jason responds:

Backwards history

Actually, you're completely wrong to suppose that the "*Theses on Feuerbach*" was written by Karl Marx "well before Stirner's *The Ego and Its Own*." Stirner's book was published and already a public scandal in the latter part of 1844 (though a publishing date of 1845 was printed in the book itself). Whereas Marx wrote the "*Theses*" in Brussels in the spring of 1845 largely in response to Stirner's criticisms.

Already in November 1844, Engels (who had long been a good friend of Stirner) wrote a letter to Marx noting that Moses Hess had given him a press copy of the new book by Max Stirner, *Der Einzige und Sein Eigenthum*, suggesting that it definitely deserved their attention. And Marx "intended to write a critical review of Stirner's *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum* at the end of December 1844 and originally wanted to publish it in the monthly *Vorwärts!*," according to the Marx/Engels Archive.

It is clear that Stirner's criticisms of Feuerbach and Marx stung Marx badly, and it is also crystal clear that Marx's naïve humanism disappeared almost entirely the moment he encountered Stirner's critique, and that this humanism was ultimately replaced, as I mention in my essay, by an evasive turn

towards a "scientific" political economy.

Marx's earlier "On the Jewish Question," on the contrary to your interpretation remains naively humanistic, in its attempt to demonstrate how human emancipation is connected to political emancipation. Marx may be critical of what he called "bourgeois humanism," but this is only because as he put it in *Private Property and Communism* (1844), "Communism, as fully developed naturalism, equals humanism." Merely a different sort of humanism than the bourgeois capitalist sort.

Marx only becomes consistently critical of humanism and moralism after Stirner demonstrated why this was necessary. Although Marx's alternative approach is unable to do anything but substitute scientism and an increasingly objectivistic dialectics for the problems of humanism and moralism.

A formula like yours that "if you simply reverse an ideological sentence, the result will also be of an ideological nature" has nothing to do with the critique of morality which appeared in this magazine. Nobody has reversed any ideological sentences here! No "external principles of judgment" are involved in my critique, which in fact is an immanent critique—though I don't think the language of "internal contradictions" you invoke makes much sense (contrary also to Marx). You obviously haven't paid attention to what I've written or you wouldn't spout off about the same things I've already said in the article, only to then reverse yourself and ignore your own suggestions for immanent critique! Do you even notice that the "destruction of our 'humanity'" is what is "wrong" in your now-humanist opinion! No consistently immanent critique will ever lead to such an abstractly humanist statement.

Feeling strongly as you do that our "situation is wrong

and fucked-up and must be changed" doesn't become moralistic in the sense I've criticized unless the "wrongness" you speak of is objectified into some commandment that dictates your response, rather than remaining an understanding that it is just your feeling that it's wrong-for-you (i.e. that you strongly don't like it), and that it's wrong-for-others in this same sense to the extent that they feel as you do. I certainly encourage everyone to own their feelings and to discover where their most radical implications might lead!



Editors of ANARCHY:

It is evident from the last two issues of the magazine that anarchism, quite as much as any of the other currents that claim to be opposed to the existing social order, is in crisis. The signs of this crisis may be seen both in the spread of remarkably un-anarchist ideologies as identity politics - truly an infantile disorder - and in the senescent complacency of 'anti-civilization' theorists who see green anarchy/primitivism in every faction of the mostly social democratic 'anti globalization' movement. The whole spectacle is reminiscent of worms eating a corpse.

But there are also strong signs of vitality, as there have been at other points of crisis in anarchist history. Foremost among them in the last issue of your magazine have been the "Preliminary Theses for a longer discussion on Essentialism and the Problem of Identity Politics" by L. Jarach and the insurrectionary tendency represented in ANARCHY by the writings of W. Landstreicher.

If those elements in anarchism that have always

sought to fight and triumph against capitalism, the state and domination in the here and now are to regain the initiative against debilitating currents of neo-fascist race/gender authenticity (which, like the politics of the old NSDAP, is usually combined with revolutionary rhetoric and a program of social-democratic reforms), and the whole phony cult of 'authenticity' which has haunted the American counter-culture since the 1950s on the one hand, and Zerzaniac despair on the other (with apologies to Diogenes of Sinope: "when I saw the pseudopodia of the amoeba, I cut off my hands" ...thus always to specializations), then they must strike at these retrograde currents in theory while bypassing them with a practice that seriously contests the existing social regime. Capitalism is not afraid of 'rewilding.' It does regard insurrection as a threat, and rightfully so.

Anarchists, like those who are anti-capitalist and anti-authoritarian (and who follow this logic to the point of being anti-party, anti-union and anti-state) and own to no ideology whatsoever (even as they may be influenced as well by certain currents in anarchism, non-Marist tendencies such as those of H. Simon, C. Castoriadis and C. Lefort, and Marxist tendencies such as those of German/Dutch council- and left- communism, and lest we forget its own self-description, the Situationist International), are at this point seeking to secure their theoretical integrity internally at the same time they are attempting to find an active practice consonant with their theoretical conclusions.

At the same time elsewhere, groups attempting

to work out practical means of implementing these necessarily provisional conclusions, such as the recent Flying Pickets' organization in the San Francisco Bay Area, have through crises in their practice been forced up against the theoretical questions posed in your magazine, in particular in having to defend the revolutionary premises on which the most radical section of the group had based its activities against the depredations of those partisans of identity politics associated with the spectacular reformism of Direct Action to Stop the War. Driving a wedge of gender and race baiting to establish their "moral legitimacy" and promoting a "diversity" devoid of class content to cover bureaucratic manipulations whose fetishization of 'process' masks unmandated delegations of authority and changes of policy unchecked by the general assembly of the group's participants, this opportunistic infection has forced the radical section of the organization to develop 'antibodies' or risk the death of the organism. In order to do so, it must generate theoretical means of defense against the ideological dispositions of its opponents at the same time it affirms at the organizational level the continuity of its revolutionary content with the empowerment of its general assembly to make all important decisions and have complete control over all delegations. It remains to be seen if this will occur.

For those of us who lived through the 1970s and saw it the first time around - as a kind of moral buttress of the Stalinism-of-everyday-life practiced by numerous leftist groups - identity politics had an undisputable value to cultists seeking to

guilt-trip their acolytes into accepting their subordination. To see it return to action in yet another reactionary capacity arouses both repulsion and indignation at the shallow and amnesiac character of many of today's "activists." Therefore, as regards the theoretical means of defense against the recrudescence of identity politics, it is fortunate that a piece like "Preliminary Theses..." has appeared in your pages. It provides a useful starting point for a contemporary understanding of the implications of identity politics by showing the limitations integral to the counter-essentialist critique as well as some of the ways in which it works to reinforce existing pseudo-radical ideologies. This is essential for exposing the concretely reformist politics which inevitably underlie the rhetoric of such careerists of authenticity who use identity as their point of departure. In this respect, "Preliminary Theses..." is only a beginning; much of the elaboration of this critique will come at the local organizational level in internal debates and may well proceed more slowly than we wish. It is well to have begun when you have.

Burt Green
2/1/05



To the Editor:

The following questions are occasioned by Lawrence Jarach's theses on essentialism. In a world of increasing uniformity, isn't it quaint to "celebrate diversity"? Hasn't the "success" of capitalism in non-European regions rendered it pretty obvious this is not just a racist phenomenon? Doesn't almost every culture offer points of resonance

with the needs and conditions of modern production, as well dissimilarities?

Hasn't Arundhati Roy in recent remarks noted that even icons like Mandela and Lula were essentially prisoners in their own governments when faced with the overwhelming power of the neoliberal project?

Is it the growing importance of archaic forms of exploitation (Karl Rove's enthusiasm for McKinley is a case in point) that preserves an archaic form of liberation struggle? Just as capitalism has mutated into a form that no longer needs distinctions based on Identity Politics categories (race, sex and ethnicity), does the cruelty and crudity of contemporary domination, whose victims are mostly not white, prolong this focus on identity?

Does the post-modern acceptance of passivity and insistence on the absence of any possible significant change make an essentially changeless category attractive? If I can't escape race or gender (class is somewhat less resistant to escape), then why not celebrate it?

How important here is isolation? Have the conditions of modern production allowed for such fragmentation that one can avoid the Other altogether? When one works alone at a computer, doesn't it become easier to focus on supposedly defining qualities that set apart the Other?

Isn't it true that people from every race, gender, class and ethnic group want to celebrate, nay, venerate, the market? Are we in a time of twilight where patriarchal, racist patterns persist within and against the market's dependence on merit? Will the formerly privileged confront new bosses and cops made up of the for-

merly oppressed? When the whip comes down, does the color of he or she who wields it matter much?

D.T.

Tucson, AZ



My name is Erik Fortman: journalist, author, musician and entrepreneur. I adopt anarchism as my final ideological resting place. My path to the beautiful promise of freedom is very different than most writers in *Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed*, and most Anarchists in general. I was raised in the South of the United States in a very conservative household. At some point I realized that the Republicans were not conservative, and that neither was I. The next steppingstone toward true freedom was the Libertarian Party. Badnarik received my vote in 2004, but it is not the Libertarians who are promising the triad of human yearning: liberty, equality, solidarity. That is the offer of anarchy, an offer that many trending from the "right" would accept, once they understood it. In light of this, it should be incumbent on whatever Anarchist organization might exist to cull from this garden, water it, nurture it. In the end, an anarchist is an anarchist. These right-aligned potentials are an untapped source for the Anarchist Movement.

First, let us agree that left and right are merely a creation of the elite to divide and conquer. Communism's "left" differs in virtually nothing except semantics from the Fascist's "right". Both offer the control of production by the State, either through the proletariat or military. Nor does the final destitution of a nation differ when the harrowing effects are felt from socialism's "left" economic policies or capitalism's "right" policies. Just as Orwell noted, the Globalists (the

money men and elite families at the top of the hierarchy) have perpetuated a false paradigm by bastardizing language and concepts so that communication is severely limited. Even further, the Globalists have reinterpreted the good name of Anarchy and caused it to be the enemy of civilization. It is: the enemy to the hierarchical civilization. Left and right are terms used to dictate stances on specific issues by toeing the party line. Conservatives and liberals are diametrically opposed, each embracing a segment of authority (liberals in economics, conservatives in morality). As we all know, anarchy is the exact opposite of tyranny, and thus is neither left nor right.

An area of philosophical interest that I diverge from standard anarchist doctrine is that of private property ownership. You will never gain one "right" anarchist while grasping onto that outdated and unrealistic dogma. It is human nature that many need private space. There is a difference between property rights, which should be allowed, and mineral and air rights (common resources), which are always public property. There is a further difference between holding property for the purposes of domination, as in a coercive landlord or a polluting corporation; and between anarchists who simply wish to live or work alone rather than with some utopian communal collective. Individuals, or humans, owning land to live on is different than "individuals", or corporations, owning land for industry. That was a fast one pulled by the capitalists - legally defining corporations as individuals. To abolish private property ownership outright is to embrace two un-anarchic platitudes. First, the abolition of private property is the first and most important plank of the Communist Manifesto. This abolition of private property almost always leads to the dis-

placement of people, while the State keeps the land or gives it away to the Elite. Second, to revert to public ownership of land would be tribalism. While it is certain that many tribal communities would arise in an anarchic civilization, and will be encouraged to do so, to enforce tribalism would be refuting technological, industrial, and agricultural advancements; and deny human nature. It would, in fact, be coercive NOT to allow private property ownership. There should only be one law: non-domination. Unless proven otherwise, owning an acre and a house is nonviolent unless it obstructs public necessity for farming, energy, production, etc. We must respect the right of man to be free from domination. So, too, must we respect his need to have a domain of his very own. Perhaps he will evolve one day. For now, without some form of private property ownership, mankind, or at least our ilk trending from the "right", will never join an anarchic movement.

I am a new anarchist, and perhaps do not understand the true meaning of your movement. Trying to gain knowledge, I picked up the Fall/Winter 2004-05 edition of "Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed". I would like to go through and point out my first thoughts. The initial two articles by co-editors Jason McQuinn and Lawrence Jarach, respectively, were especially disturbing. Jason McQuinn's was entitled "Part-time Anarchists: Voting for Empire". McQuinn rightly points out that "part-time anarchists...vote for John Kerry..." I even concur with the author when he states: "Playing by the rules of the electoral process at the least means some level of submission to the guiding assumptions of the process: maintenance of the nation-state, and preservation of capitalism." However, there were voices of anti-war, devolution, and decentralization screaming

whispers throughout our great nation. In actuality, non-voters were the majority vote. More people did not vote than voted for George Bush. Therefore, the true voices of opposition to the Establishment - those who made themselves heard regardless of the vote-doctoring and inconvenience - the true opposition to the American System were those who voted for Cobb, Badnarik, Nader, Peroutka, or even one of the Socialist candidates. All these stood for a complete withdrawal from Iraq. Each one further advocated that the U.S. military leave various other countries of the more than 130 it is now entrenched in. Another co-editor, Lawrence Jarach, asks pertinent questions in "Anarchists have forgotten their Principles" (although he, too, thinks not voting is more anarchic than voting for anti-war, anti-globalist, anti-police state candidates). Jarach randomly asks: "What justifications can these Progressives, these proud anarchists, offer twenty years later?...What radical restructuring of capitalism is there?" The men above would radically alter America by ending the War on Drugs, overturning the Patriot Act, ceasing the insane attack on Iraq, forcing corporations to comply with sane environmental laws, relieving pressure from the IRS, and attempt - each in their own way - to bring power down the pyramid to varying levels of middle-class and poor. That is a proud offer by today's Progressives. Anarchists denied them by not voting.

Harold H. Thompson's article, "Abu Ghraib and the Treatment of Prisoners in the U.S. Penal System" is a must-read. Torture is a culture that is supported and sponsored by the Elite Hierarchy. It has been their method of abuse and dehumanization throughout time.

The Politics of Anti-Semitism, by Cockburn and St. Clair, may have done little to

contextually analyze anti-Semitism. It did, however, create a dialogue. The creation of Israel came almost 1,900 years after its demise. The men involved were Freemasons, just as in the founding of the U.S. Other affairs accomplished by the Hierarchy after the staged World War II were: the division of India into India and Pakistan, now on the verge of nuclear war; the creation of the U.N., led by Communist Alger Hiss and Skull & Bones Neo-con Dulles; the destruction of Palestine; the handover of Eastern European countries to the iron fist of Stalin. Jarach notes that Jews and Zionists are two entirely different forms. Zionists are those who seek the creation and sustenance of Israel. Before the Herzl Zionist World Congress, many Jews believed that America was Zion. Many, before Hitler, loved the Fatherland, Germany.

It is true. The term "Jew" can be divided and dissected, which allows for miscommunication and confusion. There are "blood" Jews, descendants of Israel. Then there are religious Jews, those who follow Judaic Law. Many Jews are only one or the other. Many are both. Even more bewildering is the fact that an old theory on the Jewish people is gaining more and more popular acceptance. Henry Makow, Phd, a well-known blogger of the scholarly ilk, has written extensively on this subject. The argument is that the Germanic (Turko-Finnish) Khazar peoples adopted Judaism over Islamism and Christianity to remain neutral during the preliminary crusades. Over time, the Khazars became known as Jews. These are the blonde-haired, blue-eyed "Jews." Moreover, some Khazars claim that they are Jewish in that they are one of the twelve tribes of Judah, splitting before Judaic Law was adopted.

As if all this weren't mys-

tifying enough, the Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion was for decades pawned off as the Jewish treatise for global domination. This deceit led to horrifying Jewish persecution the world over, into the present. Today the elite media is saying that the document is false. That is not true. It is true that Jews were not involved in the writing of the Protocols (Khazars, however, were involved, including those in the Rothschild lineage). Someone, though, created a Machiavellian tract that the Global Elite seems to have been following for many centuries. It has been noted in the book *Holy Blood, Holy Grail* that an occult society, almost certainly Freemasonic, created the Protocols, calling for expanded infiltration into Freemasonry, and then governments. A History Channel specifically on the Protocols stated that the group which wrote the document was an intelligence (spy) branch influential on the "far right" in Russia. This makes perfect sense. Follow the line of traditionalist elite who were actually occultists. The authors of *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* were right-wing, intelligence-minded occultists. Hitler was a fascist totalitarian. He was an occultist. All Republican presidents in modern history in the U.S. have also been members of the Babylonian-influenced society, the Bohemian Grove. We come full circle when we realize that Hitler was the instrument used to create Israel after 1,900 years; and that Bohemian Grovers, like Bush, are the true Zionists. Israel, right or wrong, is foremost the weapon of mass chaos wielded on the Middle-East and the world, spreading fear and war. The same can be noted in India/Pakistan, and with the U.N. vs. Pax-Americanus. All these issues, as previously stated, were dialectics set up by the elite.

The Assassinations by DiEugenio and Pease is a watered

down recap of Robert Gaylon Ross, Sr.'s book, *The Elite Serial Killers of Lincoln, JFK, RFK, and MLK*. Ross details more specifically the international bankers' push to centralize the United States' monetary system as the primary motive for these assassinations. Furthermore, he includes actual FOIA-gathered Senate testimony which reveals that the C.I.A. admittedly pursued an operation of psychological warfare during an operation known as MK Ultra. MK Ultra was an attempt to study the altering and control of the human brain. It included experimentation on American citizens with behavioral drugs, hypnosis, toxins, electro-shock, harassment techniques, gas propelled sprays and aerosols, brain concussion research, crop and material sabotage, "activities whose objective cannot be determined", and "aspects of magicians' art". Back to the occult elite again. Both Ross's book and DiEugenio's *The Assassinations* serve a very important purpose - a purpose that reviewer Ben Blue points out. He asks why we need these conspiracy books, and answers: "Prolonged contemplation of the JFK assassination and the social, political, and economic forces contributing to it, led to my embrace of anarchism as a political creed." Ditto, Mr. Blue.

While a left-right split inside the anarchist movement seems evident, *Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed* did bridge the gap. Wolfi Landstreicher summed anarchy, and anarchic world issues up in "Autonomous Self-Organization and Anarchist Intervention." This essay was well thought out, brought up several relevant points, and never let us forget that, "We anarchists are ourselves often among the exploited and dispossessed. Thus, we have an immediate need to struggle against this social order." *Anarchy* is anarchy. To

argue against it, whether for a right or 'left' cause, is arguing against freedom and for authority. Landstreicher's essay touches on several modern anarchist movements in other countries. He adds: "Perhaps, the first thing we have to face as revolutionary anarchists in the US is that presently there is no social movement in this country."

I disagree. There is presently no loud "left" social freedom movement in America. The "right" freedom lovers have one. While this movement is not about anarchy per se, it could be classified as a semi-anarchic movement. The "right" anarchists have aligned themselves around the ranting radical Alex Jones in a pitched battle against the Wizards of Oz, those at the helm of the Hierarchy, System, or Establishment. Jones' sole purpose for being is to expose the New World Order. While "left" anarchists are still bemoaning that Socialism didn't work and getting skulls cracked at marches, Alex Jones and his libertarian movement are attacking the global hierarchy right at its source. Jones is Christian and pro-life, which is why the "left" anarchists won't or haven't embraced him. The Jones Experience is dominated by a radical desire for complete devolution to the States and communities and individuals by exposing the slave-masters themselves. "The illusion that there is a movement" is only an illusion to the left. Is Jones less of an anarchist because he is of the "conservative" opinion that we should be able to own guns? Or is he less inclined to liberty because he believes that abortion is a sin? The abortion issue itself has not been argued to conclusion within anarchists' circles. Is this a reason to ignore his call to arms against tyranny?

The point is, these "right-wing nuts" who follow Alex Jones love freedom. They aren't

a part of the paradigm, they are against it. These followers are only a step or two away from being able to grasp anarchism. Wolfi Landstreicher makes an important point. "The creation of any real social movement here will have to involve a real and concrete practical rejection of activists politics...one of our tasks as anarchists is precisely to encourage those who are becoming outraged at the condition of their existence in this society to think and act for themselves rather than relying on the various ideologies and organization that will offer to represent their rage and resistance." That is exactly what Alex Jones tells approximately ten million freedom-lovers every week on his radio program. Callers ask all the time, "What can we do to stop this?" His answer is always that they should become leaders themselves, and that they should stop depending on others to help them. "When we all become leaders," Jones repeats ad nauseam, "the New World Order will have no chance to win." His book, documentaries, TV show, radio program, and various other media attacks have one primary function: to waken the masses to tyranny. Anarchists are already highly attuned to this tyranny, but have been unsuccessful in America, until now, at raising large amounts of people in opposition to the system on a daily basis. Why would anarchists not embrace this movement? At the very least, perhaps disenfranchised Republicans and Libertarians should be considered as a source of potential wealth for anarchism and anarchist thought. Have we allowed the Globalists and the U.S. puppet-government to influence our minds to the point where even we are split along ideological lines?

Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed is definitely an important magazine. The only flaw I

see is that many writers still embrace the methods of Marxism, while at the same time refuting them. Marx and Engels worked for the Global Elite Hierarchy, guys. Get past it. Marxism was designed to be the bridge by which capitalism could be brought to the Gulag State of Communism. That is exactly what we are in the beginning-end stages of, after having U.S. Socialism for almost a century. I believe that if the tactics of Jones, and other right-leaning liberty warriors, were adopted by anarchists, they would go far. Every movement must first be waged for the hearts and minds of the masses. That is why Al-Qaeda is now a movement, not a terrorist group. The masses are ignorant, uninformed, and other things derogatory that I won't say here. Yet, that is who we are selling freedom to. Where might we "market" the ultimate freedom, which is Anarchy. I sincerely hope that the more experienced left-anarchists will embrace their conservative cousins who are even now looking for answers. Conversely, they should imbibe the fruits of fresh thoughts. A uniting of forces would be a boon to liberty. The simple truth is we can't imagine what a truly anarchic society would look like. However, I am sure that left and right would become concepts of the past - myth, legend.

Anarchy must truly represent every non-dominating ideology.

Lawrence responds:

Your letter contains plenty to discuss as well as plenty to dismiss. First off, there are too many slogans: "an anarchist is an anarchist," "anarchy is the exact opposite of tyranny," "the ultimate freedom, which is Anarchy." None of these phrases actually means anything; they are empty assertions that can easily fit onto bumper stickers and don't require any thinking.

Your hero Jones sounds like a typical redneck invoking States' rights, sectarian Christianity, and an end to abortion; one doesn't have to have too much of an imagination to extrapolate that basic attitude to include other topics of his (and his followers') disdain. Burning crosses anyone? The only relationship I'd want to have with people like that is adversarial; their mistrust of government only extends to the present rulers, not government *per se*, and certainly not to institutionalized hierarchy. How can sectarian Christianity be understood as a "non-dominating ideology"?

Proposing a "complete devolution to the States" solves nothing for anarchists, who are after all, opposed to all states. Declaring abortion a "sin" will never be an argument for anarchists, who (for the most part) reject any kind of religious thinking; you may think that "the abortion issue itself has not been argued to conclusion" among anarchists, but that's probably because you're mostly not in contact with real anarchists. The abortion issue is clearly one of individual choices based on self-interest; if you don't think that describes the "issue" and you prefer to argue about when life begins, then you are engaging in a religious argument, not an ethical argument about personal autonomy.

Discussions of "human nature" are a red herring. The nature of humanity is to adapt to conditions or change those conditions; that is the basis of the success of our species' survival (a success that unfortunately puts the survival of the rest of the Earth's life forms in jeopardy). Property rights, private space, refusing "technological, industrial, and agricultural advancements" are all socio-cultural issues; each social unit or culture has its own particular way of understanding these

issues and it may surprise you to learn that they also have distinctly different ways of dealing with them. Not all humans react the same way to the same circumstances.

Most normal (specifically non-anarchist and generally non-political) people prefer to be left alone, as you clearly are aware. These aren't the people who deserve the contempt of radicals or reactionaries. The committed foes of any kind of rupture with the present order are the enemies of radically egalitarian social transformation, not those who could care less what color the flags are. The major problem I perceive with the crowd you're trying to recruit from is that they are precisely those who are committed to preserving the current economic order. They have swallowed the mythology of the United States of America hook, line, and sinker. They believe in the promise of America as a land of freedom from tyranny, that freedom being guaranteed by fair representation, protection of private property, and law and order. Most people on the right find the present system (what you have bizarrely labeled 100 years of socialism) economically chaotic, bureaucratically intrusive, and fundamentally unjust. The problem isn't that this isn't true, but that none of the correctives offered by your pals are interesting, relevant, or liberatory from a real anarchist perspective.

Then there's your talk of movement building by trying to appeal to and/or recruit "right" anarchists, who, you admit, aren't really anarchists, but belong to some tendency that you have classified as "semi-anarchic," whatever that means. I have always been leery of movement-building talk, especially when it's accompanied by an invocation of "the masses"; the denial of the importance, or even existence, of the individual is clearly authoritarian.

As if "the masses" were some monolithic, malleable, inert blob merely waiting for other people with good ideas to mold them into something coherent (and still monolithic). As if "the masses" had no independent will (which, of course as a mass, they don't) and can only be spurred into action—and then guided, of course—by a fully conscious cadre (still no individuals!) with a clear program (see Lenin's *What is to be Done?* and the more repellant parts of the Platform). Your explicit elitism sneaks out when you refer to "the masses" as being "ignorant, uninformed and other things derogatory." This kind of contempt for normal people doesn't only exist among those on the right; plenty of leftists and left anarchists have obvious disdain for those who remain unwilling to be convinced of the correctness of their perspectives and plans.

Elitism lends itself to conspiratorial analyses and programs; you share this attitude with the conspirators. They have sold to "the masses" what anarchists consider false freedom; you insist that "we [sic] are selling freedom" to "the masses." The conspirators have been marketing the freedom of capitalism, private property, and statism to "the masses" for the last couple hundred years; you would "market" the ultimate freedom, which is Anarchy, to "the masses." The manipulative techniques of public relations, marketing, advertising, packaging, and spin are the same whether you or the conspirators are doing it. Where you want recruits and followers, real anarchists want colleagues and accomplices.

Whether you call them "Globalists," "the Elitist Hierarchy," "the Global Elite," "Freemasons," "International Bankers," or "Babylonian-influenced... [members of] the Bohemian Grove," all those who are supporting the dreaded

New World Order are presented as plotters against anarchy in your case, or of US national (or individual state) sovereignty in the case of others. This fantasy is a distraction from the more prosaic opposition anarchists, and all enemies of institutionalized hierarchies, face. Hierarchical thinking and authoritarian institutions are not the sole purview of these sinister conspirators (why not just call them Jews in league with Satan? After all, that racist Khazar nonsense is merely a pseudo-scholarly version of the older "Jews are out to control and/or destroy the world" scenario promoted by fanatical Christians). There are capitalists and gangsters gathered in corporations, and these corporations are now, and always have been, completely entwined with the State through military/intelligence/drug trafficking networks; they use all sorts of subtle and not-so-subtle public relations/mind control techniques to keep the rest of us too confused and disoriented to connect most of the dots that outline all of their creepy schemes. Some plans we can see and some we can't, but merely exposing a previously invisible one is only one more scandal for spectacular consumption. The schemers have done this since the beginnings of civilization; they are the priests, landlords, warlords, prison wardens, torturers, and cops we all hate. They are happy to help spin these bizarre yarns (and naturally contribute their own disinformation to the mix) to keep themselves relatively safe—scapegoats are easy to manufacture, and some of those targeted populations even play along for their own short-term benefits if they are able to figure out the pertinent parts of the game. In other words, all the big, supposedly secret conspiracies are probably real on some level. But for most of the participants in them, actual secrecy is unneces-

sary; they can continue to conduct their affairs either semi- or fully overtly, because the more obvious paranoid fantasies promoted by many conspiracy theorists discredit more objective, evidence-based, investigations. Remember Occam's Razor. For the most reasonable take on the machinations of the conspira-

tors, I recommend the website of Mike Ruppert, a former cop: fromthewilderness.com.



Dear friends,

We would like to thank you for the review on the last issue of Democracy & Nature and also inform you that Democracy & Nature has been succeeded by International Journal of Inclusive Democracy which is published online and is avail-

able for free in the following website: www.inclusivedemocracy.org/journal

The first issue of the new journal (October 2004) and three newsletters have just been published on this site.

Regards,
The Editors - editors@inclusivedemocracy.org



Dan Lewis

How Alienated Are You?

Check all that apply. It is possible to have more than one answer...there are no limits here. Mail the questionnaire to C.A.L. Press, PO Box 3448, Berkeley, CA 94703 or find it online at <http://www.anarchymag.org>. The rating scale and responses will be published next issue so you can find out how alienated you are compared to other readers. Make sure to keep a copy of your responses if you want to know how you measure up.

What is the temperature in your home in the winter?

☐ whatever it is outside ☐ 50-60 ☐ 60-70 ☐ I sleep naked without blankets

How often do you eat wild/dumpstered food?

☐ more than once a day ☐ once a day
☐ once a week ☐ what is wild food?

How often do you use a cell phone?

☐ what's a cell phone? ☐ almost never
☐ at least once a week ☐ at least once a day

How often do you drive or ride in a car?

☐ I smash cars for fun ☐ almost never
☐ at least once a week ☐ at least once a day

How much time do you spend outside each day?

☐ houses are for the weak ☐ at least an hour a day
☐ at least an hour a week ☐ only if it's sunny

How much money passes through your hands each day? Include money earned, spent or collected for others.

☐ I'm a closet capitalist ☐ at least \$100
☐ on disability, doesn't count ☐ I can't count

How often do you shower or bathe?

☐ bathing is for birds ☐ about once a month
☐ at least once a week ☐ at least once a day

How often do you drink coffee?

☐ I don't HAVE to have it ☐ at least once a day
☐ at least once a week ☐ why spoil the water?

How often do you wear clothes or shoes?

☐ why are you talking about THAT? ☐ no tan lines, anywhere
☐ at least 22 hours a day

How much time do you spend watching TV or seeing movies?

☐ reality shows are better than reality ☐ more than an hour a day
☐ I killed my TV

What do you do in a crisis?

☐ get out the checkbook ☐ dial 911
☐ call friends or family ☐ start kicking ass



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